

Religion & Culture in the Middle Ages

Anchoritism in the Middle Ages Texts and Traditions

Edited by
Catherine Innes-Parker
and Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa

University of Wales Press

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RELIGION AND CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Anchoritism in the Middle Ages

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Anchoritism in the Middle Ages

TEXTS AND TRADITIONS

edited by

CATHERINE INNES-PARKER AND NAOË KUKITA YOSHIKAWA



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SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages aims to explore the interface between medieval religion and culture, with as broad an understanding of those terms as possible. It puts to the forefront studies which engage with works that significantly contributed to the shaping of medieval culture. However, it also gives attention to studies dealing with works that reflect and highlight aspects of medieval culture that have been neglected in the past by scholars of the medieval disciplines. For example, devotional works and the practice they infer illuminate our understanding of the medieval subject and its culture in remarkable ways, while studies of the material space designed and inhabited by medieval subjects yield new evidence on the period and the people who shaped it and lived in it. In the larger field of religion and culture, we also want to explore further the roles played by women as authors, readers and owners of books, thereby defining them more precisely as actors in the cultural field. The series as a whole investigates the European Middle Ages, from c.500 to c.1500. Our aim is to explore medieval religion and culture with the tools belonging to such disciplines as, among others, art history, philosophy, theology, history, musicology, the history of medicine, and literature. In particular, we would like to promote interdisciplinary studies, as we believe strongly that our modern understanding of the term applies fascinatingly well to a cultural period marked by a less tight confinement and categorization of its disciplines than the modern period. However, our only criterion is academic excellence, with the belief that the use of a large diversity of critical tools and theoretical approaches enables a deeper understanding of medieval culture. We want the series to reflect this diversity, as we believe that, as a collection of outstanding contributions, it offers a more subtle representation of a period that is marked by paradoxes and contradictions and which necessarily reflects diversity and difference, however difficult it may sometimes have proved for medieval culture to accept these notions.

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Finally, we owe thanks to Sarah Lewis and Siân Chapman of the University of Wales Press for their unfailing support, and the contributors for entrusting us with editing and proofreading. Any shortcomings are our responsibility.

Catherine Innes-Parker and Naoë KukitaYoshikawa

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Plate 1 Jan van Wavere (?) , St Dymphna altarpiece, c.1515 (made in Mechelen/Brussels for the Church of St Dymphna, Geel). Image courtesy of Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, Brussels, © KIK-IRPA, Brussels.

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Plate 7 The *Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande* (London: Richard Pynson, 1516), STC 4602, sig. y4^v. The British Library, 205.c.19. © The British Library Board.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
BMC XI:	Hellinga, Lotte (ed.), <i>The Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Library, XI: England</i> ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & de Graff, 2007).
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum: continuatio medieualis</i> (Turnhout, 1966).
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum: series latina</i> (Turnhout, 1953).
CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i> (Vienna, 1866).
EETS	Early English Text Society.
ES	Extra Series
ESTC	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> , http://estc.bl.uk/ .
OS	Original Series
PL	J.-P. Migne (ed.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series Latina</i> (Paris, 1844–65)

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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Mari Hughes-Edwards is Senior Lecturer in English literature at Edge Hill University and the author of *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practices* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012). A medievalist by doctoral training, her published work now focuses equally on contemporary British literature and she has particular interests in contemporary poetry, especially in the work of Carol Ann Duffy

on whom she is currently writing a British Academy-funded book for Manchester University Press.

Catherine Innes-Parker is Professor of medieval literature in the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Prince Edward Island. She was an overseas visiting fellow at St John's College, Cambridge (Lent Term, 2012), where she studied the Middle English translation of Bonaventure's *Lignum Vitae*. Her current research, funded by an Insight Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, focuses on the vernacularization of Bonaventure's meditations on the life of Christ. She has published widely on the *Ancrene Wisse* Group and is currently completing an edition of *The Wooing Group*, to be published by Broadview Press in its Literary Texts series.

Chiyoiko Inosaki completed her MA at the University of York in 1988, and now is a part-time English teacher at Kinki University. Her research focuses on *Ancrene Wisse* and her partial translation of *Ancrene Wisse* in Japanese is included in the series *Corpus fontium mentis medii aevi* (Chuusei Shisou Genten Shuusei series) 15, Institute of Medieval Thought, Sophia University (Heibonsha: Tokyo, 2002), 307–55. Her latest article is 'The intention of Cleopatra Scribe B: what was the purpose of his additions to Latin Incipits in part 1 of *Ancrene Wisse*?', *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature* (The Japan Society for Medieval English Studies), 26 (2011), 1–22.

Bella Millett is Professor of medieval literature in the English Department of the University of Southampton. The main focus of her research is the development of medieval English devotional literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; she has recently completed an edition for the Early English Text Society of the guide for women recluses *Ancrene Wisse*, and is currently working on two sermon-collections from the same period, the Trinity and Lambeth Homilies.

Satoko Tokunaga is Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Letters, Keio University, studying the English print culture in early Tudor England. She was a visiting fellow at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (2010–11) and a short-term research fellow at The Huntington Library (2011–12). She is a co-editor, with Ed Potten, and a contributing author of a special issue of 'Rubrication in Caxton's early English books, c.1476–78', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* (2013). She is currently working with Takako Kato on a digitization project, 'Caxton and beyond: copy specific features of English Incunabula', for which the Katharine F. Pantzer Jr Research Scholarship (2011–12) was awarded by The Bibliographical Society.

Fumiko Yoshikawa studied English historical linguistics at Tsuda College, Tokyo and at the Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University. Since 2002, she has been teaching English at Hiroshima Shudo University. Over the past decade, most of her research has been on the pragmatic analysis of Middle English religious prose. Recent publications include 'Translating Julian of Norwich's politeness into Japanese', in Shinichiro Watanabe and Yukiteru Hosoya (eds), *English Philology and Corpus Studies: A Festschrift in Honour of Mitsunori Imai to Celebrate his Seventieth Birthday* (Tokyo:

Shohakusha, 2009) and ‘Why was the dative marker crossed in Corpus Christi College MS 440?’, in Osamu Imahayashi, Yoshiyuki Nakao and Michiko Ogura (eds), *Aspects of the History of English Language and Literature: Selected Papers Read at SHELL 2009, Hiroshima* (Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2010) .

Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa is Professor of English in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Shizuoka University. She has published widely on late medieval devotional texts, including *Margery Kempe’s Meditations: The Context of Medieval Devotional Literature, Liturgy and Iconography* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007). She has translated, with M. Ishii, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2009) into Japanese. Her research also focuses on late medieval medicine and religion. She has published an article, ‘Holy medicine and diseases of the soul: Henry of Lancaster and *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*’, *Medical History*, 53 (2009), 397–414 and edited, with Denis Renevey, *Poetica*, 72 (2009), on devotional and medical discourses.

Introduction

CATHERINE INNES-PARKER AND NAOË KUKITA YOSHIKAWA

In the twenty-first century world, there has been a growing interest in spirituality, perhaps in reaction to increasing secularization in many developed countries and societies. Medieval spirituality is no exception, as indicated by the rising number of conferences dedicated specifically to the devotional world of the Middle Ages, and the number of books and articles published over the past thirty years. So, too, international interest in anchoritism has grown over the past few decades. Although the reasons for this are legion, the ideals that characterize the anchoritic life as a deliberately solitary life of contemplation seem to attract the anxious souls of the modern world.

The history and ideology of anchoritism has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest as well. The purpose of this volume is to consolidate the developing momentum behind the new, interdisciplinary, internationally informed dialogue about issues pertaining to the anchoritic life. With the recent publication of Bella Millett's definitive edition and translation of *Ancrene Wisse*, the most well-known anchoritic text has become readily accessible to an audience hungry for anchoritic scholarship.¹ Since *Ancrene Wisse* offers an insight into the anchoritic life as theorized and practised in thirteenth-century England, it will continue to be explored from a variety of perspectives such as historical, theological, literary, pastoral and linguistic ones, now with a consistency that has not previously been possible, as scholars have had to fluctuate between various manuscripts, each with their own individual claims to validity.

There have also been a number of articles and individual essays published on anchoritism and anchorites, although until recently only two full-length studies of anchoritism itself (as opposed to a specific anchoritic text) had been published: Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* and Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*.² Yet, as interest in anchoritism has risen, scholars have responded with important publications in the last ten years. Liz Herbert McAvoy has edited *Anchoritic Traditions of Medieval Europe*, a survey volume on expressions of anchoritism throughout Western Europe.³ This book has brought together important primary research into European anchoritism for the first time in English and opened up anchoritic studies to more widespread interest. Similarly, Anneke Mulder-Bakker's recent book, *Lives of the anchoresses*, explores a number of European recluses.⁴

McAvoy's most recent monograph on medieval anchoritism, *Medieval Anchoritisms*, builds upon the scholarship produced by these volumes and, more particularly, two volumes

which grew out of conferences held by the International Anchoritic Society: *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs* and *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold*.⁵ One of the important revelations of these conferences was the fruitful dialogue between scholars in the UK and Japan. In Japan, an interest in religious/anchoritic texts has been increased due to the activities of the Japan Society for Medieval English Studies.⁶ The International Anchoritic Society therefore held its third conference (Mapping the Anchorhold: Dialogue between East and West) in the city of Hiroshima in September 2008. This project was devised to consolidate and develop the communication already informally established between UK and Japanese scholars of the medieval anchoritic life, its adherents, its rules and its spirituality. The conference also attracted scholars from North America and the Continent. The papers included in this volume began as contributions to this conference, although, like many of the anchoritic ‘tales’ that they explore, they have grown in the telling.

This volume explores medieval anchoritism from a variety of perspectives by examining anchoritic texts and practices that are diversified geographically, linguistically, textually, culturally and socially. Geographically, papers in this volume study anchorites and anchoritism in England, France, Poland and Prussia (as well as, in the case of Millett’s paper, the early Christian world). The cultural and social context of European and English anchoritism is explored extensively, in ways that illustrate both their differences and their common ground. The textual context of anchoritism is explored through the study of anchoritic guidance writing, writings about anchorities and the writings of anchorites themselves. In terms of anchoritic guidance, its purpose, its form, its genre, its motivation and its influence are all considered. The influence of Continental writings on English anchoritism and lay spirituality are also explored. The linguistic study of *Ancrene Wisse* and the writings of Julian of Norwich are linked to their broader context and intent. Finally, the extended influence of anchoritic literature on the broader community is explored in the consideration of real and potential lay audiences of several English texts and authors.

By including essays that explore the broader influence of anchoritism and the relationship between anchoritism and other forms of the solitary life, this volume illuminates the richness and fluidity of anchoritic texts and contexts and shows how anchoritism pervaded the spirituality of the Middle Ages, for lay and religious alike. Our opening paper, by Bella Millett, challenges the whole concept of the ‘anchoritic rule’; the volume as a whole illustrates the variety and flexibility of anchoritism through the late Middle Ages and early Tudor period across England and Europe.

In part I, Traditions of anchoritic guidance, Bella Millett’s article, ‘Can there be such a thing as an “anchoritic rule”?’ considers the foundational question of what, exactly, is anchoritic guidance literature. As well as considering form and genre, Millett pushes the problem of the textual construction of the ‘anchoritic rule’ to its limit, investigating how the construction of the ‘anchoritic rule’ is challenged by examining the very concept of ‘rule’ itself. Tracing the tradition of legislative writing for solitaries from the third century to the late fourteenth century, Millett explores the tension between monastic and anchoritic ideals, showing how the very individualism implied by the anchoritic life defies the application of a ‘rule’. She concludes that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the four latest ‘rules’ she considers (*Ancrene Wisse*, the ‘Dublin Rule’, the ‘Cambridge Rule’ and the ‘Oxford Rule’) present a radical response to this problem: ‘Disclaiming their own legislative status, these “rules” present the anchorite as living “unspotted from the world”

within a virtual cloister, where God is abbot, prior and provost and “there is no rule but the gospel of Christ””.⁷

Mari Hughes-Edwards addresses the slippage between the genre of anchoritic guidance and the role of the anchoritic guidance writer and the influence of audience. In a study of the relationship between Goscelin of St Bertin and Eve of Wilton, the recipient of his *Liber Confortatorius*, Hughes-Edwards argues that anchoritic guidance texts, although rich in material about the theory and practice of anchoritism, ‘are also often constructed as personal documents, spinning us the subjectivity of their creators in contexts reflective of specific geographical, social, spiritual and personal circumstances’.⁸ She suggests that in this instance, the guidance text is written as much for the benefit of the author as for his intended reader, as Goscelin reconstructs his former, happy, relationship with Eve before what he considers the betrayal of her enclosure. Paradoxically, Goscelin rages against Eve’s abandonment of him, while at the same time constructing a text to support her choice of a life he clearly admired and esteemed. Hughes-Edwards concludes that the *Liber Confortatorius* suggests that scholars of anchoritism ought to take greater account of the textual implications of the relationship between writer and audience.

The third article in part I, by Fumiko Yoshikawa, also considers the relationship between writer and audience, but in a mystical text written by an anchorite, rather than a text written for an anchorite. She shows how the writing of Julian of Norwich is illumined by paying close attention to its rhetorical and linguistic properties and, in particular, Julian’s use of logical discourse markers. Through an examination of other texts and genres which use similar discourse strategies, Yoshikawa considers the connections forged with these works by Julian’s rhetorical strategies. She concludes that ‘Julian of Norwich’s *Revelations of Divine Love* has a common link with authoritative philosophical works such as religious homilies, moral stories and instructional texts in its frequent use of the phrase “that is to say”’.⁹ Significantly, this shows that Julian’s sophisticated construction of her philosophical text belies the humble manner in which she presents herself, suggesting that her training was more extensive than has previously been supposed. As well, Yoshikawa’s article shows that, in spite of the evidence concerning the circulation of her text (or lack thereof), Julian intended her *Revelations* to be read. Through her use of rhetorical strategies Julian constructs her text in such a way as to make it accessible to her readers in a way that is familiar to them through other vernacular instructional texts, and which shows her familiarity not only with other vernacular instructional texts, but also with the controversies that might affect the reception of her own writing. Yoshikawa ends with the conclusion that Julian was careful to construct herself as orthodox.

In part II, Enclosure and sanctity in hagiographical tradition, Jane Chance’s article picks up on some of the implications of Yoshikawa’s conclusion that Julian was aware of the fine line that she walked between orthodoxy and heresy. Chance explores the connections between the spiritual world of continental female mystics and that of English mystics through a comparison between Julian’s heterodoxy and Marguerite Porete’s heretical writing. She argues that both writers create a form of ‘feminized Trinity’ in order to include the feminine in the history of salvation. Indeed, Chance argues, both Marguerite and Julian eliminate the traditional doctrine of original sin, making the feminine the means of the transmission of salvation rather than the means of the transmission of sin and guilt. Yet, Marguerite’s radical writings resulted in her being burned at the stake (along with her book); it is possible that Julian’s dancing on the fringe of orthodoxy

resulted in the suppression (or at least the lack of circulation) of her text. While there is no historical connection between Julian and Marguerite, their texts survive together in a Carthusian miscellany, giving them a textual connection as well as a connection in the developing thought of feminine mysticism in the late Middle Ages. Thus, in spite of the rhetorical connections with orthodox vernacularity shown by Yoshikawa, the connections with Marguerite suggest that Julian's text also plays with heterodoxy – as Yoshikawa too suggests as she concludes that Julian uses her rhetorical sophistication to guard against accusations of impropriety.

Continuing the connection between anchoritism and motifs which are uncomfortable at best, heretical at worst, Juliana Dresvina explores the life of St Dymphna of Geel and contextualizes it in hagiographical and anchoritic traditions. Dymphna's life shows many of the struggles and aspirations of the saints' lives in the *Ancrene Wisse* group, and her persecution (and ultimate beheading) by her incestuous father has parallels with the persecutions suffered by the virgin martyrs. Yet, her story also has connections with secular fairy tale genres and motifs, such as the 'unnatural father' and the 'outcast child'. Dresvina argues that

In the classic virgin-martyr legends the roles of the pursuer and of the persecutor are almost always divided between the saint's father and her suitor. The legend of St Dymphna, however, written down much later and almost on the periphery of the official church, daringly brings incest forward in this striking conjunction of a virgin-martyr legend and a Cinderella-type fairytale by combining the two roles.¹⁰

Ironically, her story is told by the sole survivor, her father's fool, an incongruous narrator for an incongruous tale in which Dymphna, the patron saint of insanity, literally becomes a fool for Christ's sake, dressing in jester's attire to escape from her father's court. These 'fairy tale' motifs mean the 'afterlife' of Dymphna's tale moves beyond the eremitical tradition, yet it always brings its readers back full circle to the anchoritic motifs of this volume.

Both Chance and Dresvina consider the connections between continental mystical and hagiographical texts and English anchoritism. Another continental mystic who, as Hope Emily Allen argues, also influenced English devotional writings, is Dorothy of Montau, who influenced the spiritual 'autobiography' of Margery Kempe.¹¹ Sieglinde Hartmann's essay on Dorothy of Montau investigates how the picture of Dorothy depicted in the writings of her confessor, Johannes Marienwerder, constructs her as a martyr rather than an anchoress, thereby revealing the politics inside the making of the hagiography. Dorothy herself was concerned with her spiritual relationship with Christ, eventually seeking enclosure in an anchorhold after the death of her husband. Hartmann explores connections between Dorothea's spirituality and that of other Continental mystics, particularly with respect to bridal mysticism. Yet, as the first known recluse in the medieval Prussian state of the Teutonic Order, her hagiography is influenced by the order's spirituality and religious life. Hartmann points out that 'Dorothy was venerated popularly from the moment of her death as the guardian of the country of the Teutonic Knights and patron saint of Prussia'.¹² Yet, she concludes, 'Whether [her] bloody martyrdom corresponds more to the intentions of Dorothy's Prussian confessor or to the spiritual aspirations of the Danzig lay mystic has yet to be explored.'¹³

Part III, Anchoritic texts and traditions in the lay world, explores the movement of anchoritic thought and, in some cases, practice beyond the walls of the anchorhold.

Chiyoko Inosaki continues the linguistic study of *Ancrene Wisse*, exploring the ways in which the Latin notations of Part 1, on Devotions, evolve as manuscripts are rewritten for new audiences. Inosaki argues that the use of prayers and textual incipits shows an evolution of audience as *Ancrene Wisse* moved into the secular world. Through an examination of the 'Pater Noster', the 'Ave' and the Creed, Inosaki shows a movement toward secularization, as the Latin incipits are altered in accordance with patterns of liturgical use. She concludes that 'the authenticity of Latin quotations does not always depend on a legacy of strict wording, but can be transferred to users through arranged phrases that would help [users to] understand instructions much better'.¹⁴

Catherine Innes-Parker, in her article, 'Reading and devotional practice', gives a detailed examination of the Wooing Group prayers in British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.xiv. She argues that the historical order of the composition of these prayers shows a movement away from the context of church and cult, towards a more private and individualized devotion characteristic of the anchorhold. The arrangement of the same prayers in the Nero manuscript, however, shows that the Nero scribe was aware of the dangers of such unmediated devotion, particularly in the lay world. He therefore constructs his manuscript in such a way as to move the spirituality encouraged by the Wooing Group prayers back into the context of church and cult in order to reinforce clerical control of individual devotion.

Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa and Satoko Tokunaga also deal with the movement of anchoritism from the enclosed world of the anchorhold to the broader world of lay spirituality. Yoshikawa's article continues the study of the relationship between orthodoxy and heresy and, indeed, the politics of defining orthodoxy and heresy, as she investigates the interaction between the pastoral vocation of Carmelites theologians and Margery Kempe, through an examination of Thomas Netter and Alan of Lynn. Netter's anti-Lollard anxieties are, she argues, illuminated and contextualized by the *Book of Margery Kempe*. Margery Kempe associated with Carmelites in her native Lynn, in Norwich and likely in other places she visited on her perambulations throughout England. One Carmelite with whom she was particularly associated was Alan of Lynn, who influenced her spiritual education in a profound way. Yet, Yoshikawa argues, 'it seems that he was too supportive of her public visionary experience and her knowledge of Scripture to suit her contemporaries and his superior',¹⁵ for Netter imposed a ban on Alan's interaction with Margery in response to a complaint. Although Netter was a supporter of Emma Stapleton, a Norwich anchoress, this ban reveals Netter's ambivalent views on the education of the female laity, influenced by his anti-Lollard views and, in particular, by his participation in the Council of Constance. Alan's support of Margery lent credence to her spiritual experience, while Margery's trials for heresy had the potential to tarnish the reputation of the Carmelites. Along with Thomas Arundel, Netter believed that the laity should remain doctrinally ignorant rather than succumb to the dangers of heterodoxy. Yet, the Carmelite Order was committed to lay education. The conflict between Alan's support of Margery Kempe and Netter's suspicion reveals a tension latent in this very commitment, embodying the contrasting attitudes of the Carmelites to the laity and revealing the complex milieu of fifteenth-century spirituality.

Satoko Tokunaga explores the continuation of anchoritic spirituality as it is manifested in the printing and reading of Walter Hilton in early Tudor England. She considers the reception of Hilton's works both before and after the Reformation, showing that medieval anchoritic texts and ideals continued to be influential well into the next major theological

era following the Middle Ages. Through an examination of printed editions of Hilton's *Mixed Life*, Tokunaga reveals the broad readership that these texts attained, showing that the melding of the active and contemplative life advocated in Hilton's text was widespread amongst the laity in late-medieval and early-modern England. The inclusion of the *Scale of Perfection* along with the *Mixed Life* in many editions shows that anchoritic spirituality continued to influence lay devotion. Tokunaga also finds a continuing association with Bridgettine spirituality, even into the sixteenth century. Through an examination of marginalia and marks of ownership, she concludes,

although the majority of medieval devotional writings ceased to be printed after the Reformation, marks left in Hilton's books narrate that at least one medieval writer's works were passed onto the next generations, and . . . kept to be read and appreciated by some of their Tudor owners.¹⁶

This volume therefore explores different ways in which anchoritism can be interpreted, the relationships between anchoritism and other forms of medieval devotion, and the evolving audience for vernacular guidance literature. If, as Millett argues, the whole concept of an anchoritic 'rule' is slippery at best, inadequate at worst, then the essays that follow show how that 'slipperiness' affects other readings of anchoritic texts and appropriations of the solitary life. The volume moves through both space and time, ranging from the third century to the sixteenth, moving from England to the Continent and back again. The individual essays conceive anchoritism in broadly interpretive categories and, collectively, the essays 'map' the anchorhold linguistically, textually, culturally, socially and geographically. The volume also begins a new dialogue between scholars from different geographic areas and cultural traditions about how anchoritism can be placed in the broader context of medieval devotion. The essays show the ways in which the influence of anchoritism pervaded the medieval world, but also how the study of anchoritism crosses boundaries of scholarship in the twenty-first century, opening up a widening interest in the implications of enclosure that builds on ongoing research in the field across the modern world.

Notes

- ¹ Bella Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 402, with Variants from other Manuscripts*, 2 vols, EETS OS 325, 326 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 2006); Bella Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for Anchoresses: A Translation based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2009).
- ² Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen, 1914); and Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1985).
- ³ Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *Anchoritic Traditions of Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2010).
- ⁴ Anneke Mulder-Bakker, *Lives of the Anchoresses: The Rise of the Urban Recluse in Medieval Europe*, trans. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).
- ⁵ Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Medieval Anchoritisms: Gender, Space and the Solitary Life* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011); Liz Herbert McAvoy and Mari Hughes-Edwards (eds), *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002); Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Place, Space and Body within the Discourse of Enclosure* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008).

- ⁶ Medieval English studies in Japan has been flourishing since the spring of 1984, when the Japan Society for Medieval English Studies was established: it has led the exploration of medieval English studies through both philological and literary approaches and is currently enjoying the participation of 400 scholars and postgraduate students as active members. The society holds an annual congress which consists of symposia and individual papers, and publishes *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature*.
- ⁷ P. 26.
- ⁸ P. 33.
- ⁹ P. 55.
- ¹⁰ P. 87.
- ¹¹ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, vol. 1, EETS OS 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 378–80.
- ¹² P. 110.
- ¹³ P. 111.
- ¹⁴ P. 127.
- ¹⁵ P. 152.
- ¹⁶ P. 172.

I

Traditions of Anchoritic Guidance

Can there be such a thing as an ‘anchoritic rule’?

BELLA MILLETT

Some years ago I wrote an article on the genre of *Ancrene Wisse* which traced its debts to contemporary and earlier monastic legislation.¹ But its author’s ambivalent attitude to this legislative tradition raised a broader question not fully explored in the article: can there be such a thing as an ‘anchoritic rule’?

In her standard work *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England*, Ann K. Warren implies that the term ‘rule’ in this context is misleading: ‘Writings for anchorites are classified as ascetic treatises. They give practical instruction for achieving ultimate Christian goals in this world and the next. Unlike monastic rules, which are demands, rules for anchorites are suggestions and supports.’² By ‘anchorites’ here, Warren means specifically recluses, but the point she is making could be applied to writings for solitaries in general, and I shall be using the terms ‘anchorite’ and ‘anchoritic’ in this article in their broader sense, to refer to hermits as well as recluses. It is true that medieval ‘rules’ for solitaries lacked canonical status; some of the works that Warren lists as ‘anchorite rules’, such as Rolle’s *Form of Living* and Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*, could certainly be more appropriately described as ‘ascetic treatises’ than as ‘rules’ in the strict sense.³ It is arguable, however, that the relationship between monastic rules and ‘rules’ for solitaries is both closer and more problematic than her comments suggest. Some of these ‘rules’ have clearly been influenced in their content and structure by monastic models, and although they sometimes acknowledge their lack of legislative status, they may do so defensively or even defiantly, offering a radical alternative to the monastic legislative tradition on which they draw.

The ambivalence in this relationship reflects an underlying tension between monastic and anchoritic ideals. The monastic life is based on obedience, the anchoritic life on independence; one requires the renunciation of the will, the other the exercise of free choice. The comparative freedom of the solitary life had its dangers, and monastic writers in particular tended to see it as a liability rather than an asset; Giles Constable, discussing twelfth-century monastic concepts of solitude, notes that ‘excessive freedom and lack of obedience were among the commonest charges against hermits, and the desire to become a hermit was sometimes regarded as a temptation from the devil’.⁴ Ivo of Chartres (c.1040–1115) warns a monk who was thinking of taking up the solitary life, ‘Vita . . . solitaria ideo inferior est, quia voluntaria et importunis cogitationibus plena, quae tanquam muscae minutissimae de limo surgentes volant in oculos cordis et interrumpunt sabbatum mentis’⁵

(The solitary life is inferior because it is voluntary and full of importunate thoughts, which like tiny flies rising from the mire fly into the eyes of the soul and disturb the mind's Sabbath). Bernard the Carthusian, advising a male recluse in the mid-twelfth century, stresses the greater risk of pride for the solitary in similar terms: 'Jejunanti tibi, oranti, psallenti, non deerunt invisibiles inimici, applaudentes tibi, et dicentes: Euge, euge, quis tibi similis? quis ita placet Deo? O si scirent homines sanctitatem tuam!'⁶ (While you are fasting, praying, reciting the Psalms, there will be no shortage of invisible enemies, applauding you and saying, 'Fantastic! Is there anyone like you? Is there anyone else who pleases God so much? Ooh, if people only knew how holy you are!')

Reservations of this kind can be traced back as far as the patristic period. Although the term *monachus* (from Greek *μοναχός* 'single') was initially applied to all those who chose to withdraw from the world, whether individually or in groups,⁷ by the late fourth century the development of more formally regulated monastic communities had already led to a sharper differentiation between anchoritic and cenobitic ways of life,⁸ and the emergence of tensions between them.⁹ In a letter of advice composed in 411, Jerome tells the young man Rusticus that the first question he must address if he wants to be a true *monachus* is 'utrum solus an cum aliis in monasterio uiuere debeas' (whether you ought to live alone or in a monastery with others).¹⁰ Jerome, who had himself lived as a hermit for a short period in the 370s,¹¹ says that he has no wish to denigrate the solitary lifestyle, but it is an unwise choice for a beginner in the religious life: 'in solitudine cito subrepat superbia et, si parumper ieiunauerit hominemque non uiderit, putat se alicuius esse momenti . . . quod gula poposcerit, porrigit manus; dormit quantum uoluerit, facit, quod uoluerit; nullum ueretur, omnes se inferiores putat'¹² (Pride quickly creeps up in solitude and, if [the solitary] has fasted for a little and not seen anybody, he becomes self-important . . . any food he fancies, he grabs; he sleeps as much as he likes, does what he likes; he respects nobody and thinks everyone inferior to himself). Arguing that 'nulla ars absque magistro discitur'¹³ (no skill is learnt without a master), and that only those who have been subjected to the discipline of a monastic community are properly trained to fight against the Devil,¹⁴ he tells Rusticus that he should enter a monastery:

ut . . . non facias, quod uis, comedas, quod iuberis, habeas, quantum acceperis, uestiaris, quod acceperis, operis tui pensa persoluas, subiciaris, cui non uis . . . praepositum monasterii timeas ut dominum, diligas ut parentem, credas tibi salutare, quidquid ille praeceperit, nec de maioris sententia iudices, cuius officii est oboedire et implere, quae iussa sunt, dicente Moyse: audi, Israhel, et tace.¹⁵

(so that . . . you do not do what you want, you eat what you are told to, you have as much as you are given, you wear what you are given, you do the jobs allocated to you, you have no say in who supervises you . . . you fear the superior of the monastery as a master, you love him as a parent, you believe that whatever he tells you to do is in your interests, and you do not pass judgement on your superior's decisions, since your role is to obey and carry out orders, as Moses says: 'Listen, Israel, and be silent' [Deut. 27: 9 (Septuagint)].)

The Rule of St Benedict, composed in the early or mid-sixth century, takes up the same themes. The opening passage of its prologue focuses on the monastic ideal of the renunciation of the will, emphasizing the role of the abbot as both master and father, and the necessity of obedience as a preparation for spiritual warfare:

Obsculta, o fili, praecepta magistri, et inclina aurem cordis tui, et admonitionem pii patris libenter excipe et efficaciter comple, ut ad eum per oboedientiae laborem redeas, a quo per inoboedientiae desidiam recesseras. Ad te ergo nunc mihi sermo dirigitur, quisquis abrenuntians propriis voluntatibus, Domino Christo vero regi militaturus, oboedientiae fortissima atque praeclara arma sumis.

(Listen carefully, my son, to the master's instructions, and attend to them with the ear of your heart. This is advice from a father who loves you; welcome it, and faithfully put it into practice. The labour of obedience will bring you back to him from whom you had drifted through the sloth of disobedience. This message of mine is for you, then, if you are ready to give up your own will, once and for all, and armed with the strong and noble weapons of obedience to do battle for the true King, Christ the Lord.)¹⁶

The first chapter of the Rule, on different kinds of *monachi*, draws on an existing tradition of monastic writing which argued that anchoritism should be seen not as an alternative to cenobitism but (as Jerome had recommended in his letter to Rusticus) as a development from it, suitable only for the spiritually advanced.¹⁷ Only two of the four types of *monachi* listed are seen as acceptable, those who belong to a monastery and those who have entered the anchoritic life after an extended monastic probation:

Primum coenobitarum, hoc est monasteriale, militans sub regula vel abbate. Deinde secundum genus est anachoritarum, id est eremitarum, horum qui non conversationis fervore novicio, sed monasterii probatione diuturna, qui didicerunt contra diabolum multorum solacio iam docti pugnare, et bene exstructi fraterna ex acie ad singularem pugnam eremi, securi iam sine consolatione alterius, sola manu vel brachio contra vitia carnis vel cogitationum, Deo auxiliante, pugnare sufficiunt.

(First, there are the cenobites, that is to say, those who belong to a monastery, where they serve under a rule and an abbot. Second, there are the anchorites or hermits, who have come through the test of living in a monastery for a long time, and have passed beyond the first fervour of monastic life. Thanks to the help and guidance of many, they are now trained to fight against the devil. They have built up their strength and go from the battle line in the ranks of their brothers to the single combat of the desert. Self-reliant now, without the support of another, they are ready with God's help to grapple single-handed with the vices of body and mind.)¹⁸

The other two types are the *sarabaitae* who live alone or in small groups without training or a *pastor* (shepherd), and the *gyrovagi* who travel around constantly from monastery to monastery; both groups are harshly criticized for their freedom of will, and the *gyrovagi* also for their freedom of movement.¹⁹

The *Regula solitariorum* by Grimlaic of Metz, compiled about 900, is addressed to a category of anchorites whose way of life has been still more closely assimilated to a monastic model, 'cenobitic solitaries'.²⁰ *Monachi* who 'remain within the enclosure of the monastery yet are permitted to have separate cells under the abbot's authority' are mentioned in a decree of the Council of Vannes (461×491), and appear more frequently in the records from the mid-sixth century onwards.²¹ Grimlaic's *Regula* goes further than the Rule of St Benedict in seeing enclosure within the precincts of the monastery as the

norm; enclosure in centres of population outside the monastery is forbidden, and withdrawal to the wilderness, although permitted, is presented as a rare and spiritually audacious enterprise:

Prohibendum est . . . ut in nullo alio loco hoc religionis propositum a quoquam assumatur, nisi in coenobiorum congregationibus tantum. In villis autem aut in campestribus ecclesiis, sive in aliis quibuslibet locis nullatenus praesumatur assumere, nisi forte quis more antiquorum Patrum ad eremum velit secedere

(It should . . . be prohibited that someone resolve to live this religious life in any place other than in communities of cenobites; no one should be allowed to resolve to live this way in villages or in country churches or in any other places, unless perhaps someone might wish to go apart into the wilderness, as did our forebears of old).²²

After a year's probation in the monastery, those who wish to become solitaries are allocated individual cells within its enclosure, but they are required where possible to live in close-knit groups of at least two or three, to avert the risks of self-indulgence and spiritual complacency.²³

This assimilation of the anchoritic to the cenobitic is reflected in the nature of Grimlaic's *Regula*. Although in the Prologue, Grimlaic modestly disclaims his own authority, describing his work as a compilation of patristic material,²⁴ in other respects there seems to be little functional difference between the *Regula solitariorum* and its principal model, the Rule of St Benedict.²⁵ The account of the anchorite's profession in chapter 15 is based, with only minor modifications of content and wording, on the prescriptions for monastic profession in chapter 58 of the Benedictine Rule²⁶ and, like the monk, the anchorite takes a binding vow to observe the rule he has chosen under the authority of the abbot:

si promiserit stabilitatis suae perseverantiam, legatur ei haec Regula, et dicatur ei: Ecce lex sub qua militare vis, si potes servare, ingredere; si vero non potes, liber discede. Si adhuc steterit, legatur ei haec Regula sedule, ut sciat ad quod ingreditur, et probetur in omni patientia. Et si habita secum deliberatione promiserit se omnia custodire, tunc blande leniterque suscipiatur ad destinatum propositum, sciens se lege Regulae constitutum, quod ei ex illa die non liceat egredi ex ipsa retrusione; nec collum excutere de sub iugo Regulae, quam sub tam morosa deliberatione licuit ei excusare aut suscipere.

(if he promises to persevere in being stable, let this rule be read to him, and let it be said to him: Here, then, is the law under which you want to serve as a soldier; if you are able to serve, go in, but if you cannot, you are free to leave. If he still stands firm, let this rule be read to him carefully, so that he may know what he is entering into, and let him be tested in all patience. If he has thought it over within himself and promises to keep everything, then gently and quietly let him be received into the purpose he has resolved upon, knowing as he does that it is established by the law of the rule that from that day forth he may not go out of that enclosure; neither may he throw off from his neck the yoke of the rule that, during such protracted reflection, he was free either to decline or to accept.)²⁷

Grimlaic's *Regula solitariorum* is in effect an anchoritic supplement to the Rule of St Benedict, and this passage indicates that its prescriptions were meant to be taken not

merely as 'suggestions and supports' but – at any rate from the moment of anchoritic profession – as 'demands'. It offers one possible solution to the tension between anchoritic independence and cenobitic obedience, the integration of solitaries into an existing monastic legislative structure.

From the eleventh century onwards, however, the new developments in the religious life which characterized the 'Medieval Reformation'²⁸ simultaneously complicated and destabilized the relationship between anchoritic and cenobitic ideals. The traditional alternatives of anchoritism and Benedictine monasticism became the extremes of a continuum incorporating newer, intermediate forms of the religious life. Towards the monastic end of the continuum, the ideal of obedience advocated in the Rule of St Benedict began to be questioned, while towards the anchoritic end, some eremitic groups began to develop their own rule-governed forms of communal life.

The kind of challenge faced in this period by the Benedictine ideal of absolute obedience can be illustrated by two case studies from the early twelfth century, one taken from the works of Bernard of Clairvaux, the other from the correspondence of Abelard and Heloise.

Bernard's treatise *De Praecepto et dispensatione* (1141x1144) originated as a response to two Benedictine monks who were dissatisfied with their abbot and had written to Bernard without his knowledge, questioning the authority not just of the abbot but of the Rule of St Benedict itself:

Quaeritis nempe, regularis illa institutio quomodo et quatenus sit pensanda profitentibus eam, utrum videlicet cuncta quae continet putanda sint esse praecepta, consequenter et damnosa transgredienti, an consilia tantum vel monita, et ob hoc nullius aut non magni sit ponderis ipsorum professio, nullius aut non gravis culpae ipsorum praevaricatio, an certe quaedam sint deputanda imperiis, quaedam pro consiliis reputanda, quo partim ea liceat, partim non liceat omnino praetergredi . . .

(You ask how seriously a monastic rule is to be taken by those who profess it, and whether all its precepts are to be considered as binding under pain of sin. Are they commands, or only counsels and admonitions which may be lightly promised and lightly transgressed? Are some counsels and others commands, so that we may ignore the former so long as we keep the latter?)²⁹

Bernard takes a hard line on this. He concedes that the Rule includes two different types of precept: some are spiritual, such as charity and humility, but others regulate *corporales observantias* (physical observances) such as silence and fasting, and the latter are less important. He argues, however, that both must be observed; even physical observances 'nec sine offensa negligi, nec contemni sine crimine . . . queant' (cannot be neglected without fault nor despised without sin).³⁰ The spiritual precepts are God's commands, and so binding on everyone; and although the physical observances were instituted by human beings and not everyone is obliged to follow them, they are binding on those who have vowed to observe them, unless they are dispensed by a properly elected abbot. Authority is transmitted from God to the abbot by virtue of his office; obedience for the monk is not an option but a requirement. As Jean Leclercq points out, Bernard here does not see obedience as 'merely a form of asceticism whereby the monk submits himself to the spiritual direction of an abbot'; instead, he raises it 'to the level of a clear-cut juridical

relation existing by God's authority between the disciple and a master who holds the place of God in his regard'.³¹

A few years earlier, however, Bernard's contemporary and rival Abelard had responded rather differently to a similar challenge to the authority of the Benedictine Rule. In an exchange of letters dating from the 1130s, Heloise, as abbess of the Benedictine nunnery of the Paraclete, complains to Abelard about the difficulties that she and her community are experiencing in following the Rule. She protests (like Bernard's correspondents) that it is humanly impossible to follow every precept with equal strictness, but '*si praedictae Regulae tenor a nobis impleri non potest, vereor ne illud apostoli Iacobi in nostram quoque damnationem dictum sit: Quicunque totam legem observaverit offendat autem in uno factus est omnium reus*' (if we cannot observe the tenor of this Rule, I am afraid that the words of the apostle James may be quoted to condemn us also: 'For if a man keeps the whole law but for one single point, he is guilty of breaking all of it' (Jas. 2: 10)).³²

She points out that its regulations on physical observances were clearly not designed with nuns in mind: the requirement to wear only wool next to the skin, for instance, is wholly unreasonable for menstruating women. She goes on, more radically, to question not just their appropriateness but their necessity: are they really essential for holiness? She notes that there are Augustinian regular canons who eat meat and wear linen but '*se inferiores monachis nullatenus arbitrantur*' (think themselves in no way inferior to monks),³³ and argues that since outward observances are less important than inner disposition, they should be subject to a general dispensation which would make them advisory rather than mandatory. In any case, she asks Abelard '*ut aliquam nobis regulam instituas et scriptam dirigas quae feminarum sit propria*' (that you will prescribe some Rule for us and write it down, a Rule which shall be suitable for women).³⁴

It is worth noting that Abelard's response is more cautiously phrased: he is willing to provide '*aliquam vobis institutionem, quasi quamdam propositi vestri regulam*' (some regulations for you, to be a *kind of Rule* for your calling).³⁵ Although he is prepared to offer guidance to a group of women who felt that they were being marginalized by existing monastic legislation, he is wary of describing it without qualification as a *regula* (rule). At the time he was writing, there were only three Rules officially approved by the church, the Rules of St Benedict and St Basil (for monks),³⁶ and the Rule of St Augustine (for regular canons); in 1139, the Second Lateran Council singled out for particular condemnation '*perniciosa et detestabilem consuetudinem quarundam mulierum, quae licet neque secundum regulam beati Benedicti neque Basilii aut Augustini vivant, sanctimoniales tamen vulgo censeri desiderant*'³⁷ (the pernicious and detestable custom of some women who, although they do not live either according to the Rule of St Benedict or that of Basil or Augustine, nevertheless want to be generally regarded as nuns). The term Abelard prefers is *institutio*, which is difficult to translate into modern English. In the singular, a more literal rendering than 'regulations' might be 'organizational structure', but its plural form, *institutiones*, was already a standard term for what might loosely be called the 'customs' of individual religious houses, or of the new religious orders which were emerging in this period – that is, the more detailed internal regulations that they used to supplement the Rule of St Benedict or St Augustine. Abelard offers the nuns of the Paraclete an *institutio* rather than a *regula*, a set of guidelines rather than a rule in the strict sense, and some later works for anchorites show a similar caution in the use of the term *regula*.

But as the monastic ideal of obedience was becoming more problematic, so too was the anchoritic ideal of independence. The period from the late tenth to the early twelfth century saw a revival of eremitism, but of a kind that, as Colin Morris points out, differed in significant ways from the traditional model of the solitary life:

The majority of those who were called hermits at this time . . . were not solitaries. The emphasis in their writings is not so much upon privacy as upon a retreat to the wilderness, sometimes with one or two companions, sometimes with a group of disciples; and such retreats seem often to have alternated with preaching campaigns or an active ministry in the world . . . They were men who could not find a calling within the traditional pattern of received monasticism, and who withdrew to found new communities outside it.³⁸

The members of these extra-monastic groups had not always undergone the preliminary discipline of regular monastic life, and some of them even questioned the necessity of having rules at all: Stephen of Muret (c.1054–1124/5), the founder of the Grandmontines, is said to have told his followers, 'Non est alia regula nisi euangelium Christi!'³⁹ (There is no rule but the gospel of Christ!) But their radical tendencies and lack of formal regulation caused considerable anxiety to the church authorities, who put pressure on the larger groups to form themselves into monastic communities of a more traditional kind; and indeed the eremitic groups themselves came to feel the need for more firmly defined organizational structures.

The result was what has been called the 'slide into cenobitism' of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, as originally eremitic groups developed into regular communities. Often this involved their assimilation to existing models of religious life, as they adopted the Rule of St Benedict or the Rule of St Augustine and supplemented them with their own *institutiones*. Some groups, however, such as the Grandmontines and the Carthusians, developed rather different legislative structures, adapted to a way of life that remained semi-eremitic. The church's official response to this development is traced in a 1968 article by Jacques Dubois on the twelfth-century papal bulls confirming the privileges of religious houses.⁴⁰ From the 1130s onwards, the bulls begin to include in some cases what Dubois calls a 'clause of regularity': to have its privileges confirmed, a house must continue to follow an approved rule (*regula*) and customs (*institutio*). So, for instance, for a Cistercian house the requirement would be 'ut ordo *monasticus* qui secundum Deum et beati *Benedicti* regulam atque institutionem *Cisterciensium fratrum* in eodem monasterio institutus esse dinoscitur perpetuis ibidem temporibus inviolabiliter observetur'⁴¹ (that the *monastic* way of life which, according to God and the Rule of St *Benedict* and the customs of the *Cistercian brothers*, is recognized in that monastery should continue to be strictly observed there in perpetuity). This formula was adapted for different types of religious life, and for different religious orders: monks were required to follow the *ordo monasticus* according to the Rule of St Benedict (or, very occasionally, St Basil) and regular canons the *ordo canonicus* according to the Rule of St Augustine, in both cases supplemented where applicable by the customs of their own order. Sometimes, however, a third way of life is mentioned, the *ordo heremiticus*, without reference to an approved rule. Its status was less well established than that of the other two, as can be seen from the various forms of the 'clause of regularity' addressed to Carthusian houses, which followed a semi-eremitic way of life:⁴²

1136: 'ordo monasticus . . . secundum normam et institutionem fratrum Carthusiensium' (the monastic order . . . according to the *norma* and customs of the Carthusian brothers).

1137: 'ordo heremiticus . . . secundum laudabilem disciplinam et normam Cartusiensium fratrum' (the eremitic order . . . according to the praiseworthy discipline and *norma* of the Carthusian brothers).

1145: 'ordo monasticus secundum B. Benedicti regulam, normam quoque et institutiones fratrum Carthusiensium' (the monastic order according to the Rule of St Benedict and the *norma* and customs of the Carthusian brothers).

late 1140s: 'ordo monasticus . . . secundum . . . beati Benedicti Regulam et institutionem Cartusiensium fratrum' (the monastic order . . . according to . . . the Rule of St Benedict and the customs of the Carthusian brothers).

1192: 'ordo heremiticae vitae, qui . . . in eodem loco institutus esse dinoscitur' (the order of eremitic life which is acknowledged to be established . . . in that place).

It is clear that the Papal Chancery had some trouble in categorizing the Carthusian way of life: should it be classified as *monastica* or *heremitica*? And what exactly was the legislative status of the *Consuetudines* (1121x1128) compiled by Guigo I, which acknowledge the influence of the Rule of St Benedict on Carthusian practice,⁴³ and similarly combine detailed external prescriptions with general spiritual advice? The word *norma* ('rule, standard, pattern'), used in three of the instances here, may have been selected to leave the question open; although in medieval Latin it covers a similar semantic range to *regula*, it can be used of customs as well as monastic rules (a papal bull of 1139 to a Cluniac house distinguishes its customs, '*normam* Cluniacensis monasterii', from the *regula* of St Benedict).⁴⁴ The inconsistent and sometimes ambiguous wording of these bulls reflects the church's uncertainty in dealing with a new kind of religious community, but also a concern to give its regulations some kind of official status alongside more traditional forms of monastic legislation.⁴⁵

Where, though, did this leave those solitaries who did not join the 'slide into cenobitism' – particularly those (an increasing proportion in this period) who had no previous attachment to a religious order to help them add some structure and discipline to their lives? Essentially, they were marginalized; Jacques Hourlier places the hermits and recluses of this period on what he calls the 'frange marginal' (the marginal threshold) between the laity and the religious orders.⁴⁶ In the early thirteenth century, even the slide into cenobitism – at any rate into a new order of their own – ceased to be an option for them, as the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 forbade the creation of new religious orders:

Ne nimia religionum diversitas gravem in ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus, ne quis de caetero novam religionem inveniatur, sed quicumque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat. Similiter qui voluerit religiosam domum fundare de novo, regulam et institutionem accipiat de religionibus approbatis . . .⁴⁷

(So that too much diversity of religious orders should not introduce serious confusion in the Church of God, we strictly forbid anyone to establish a new religious order in the future; anyone who wishes to take up the religious life should adopt one of the approved forms instead. Similarly, anyone who wants to found a new religious house should accept a rule and customs from the approved orders . . .)

It is clear from this canon that the church was making an increasing effort to exercise legislative control over the proliferating varieties of religious life; so why did it make no attempt to establish approved rules and customs for solitaries, whose relative independence had been a recurrent cause for concern since the later fourth century?

One reason is that, by definition, solitaries did not constitute viable institutional groups. James Brundage says in his survey of medieval canon law, 'Most writers agreed that customary practices within administrative units, such as ecclesiastical provinces, dioceses and even parishes could acquire legal force. The same was true for the usages of institutional groups and corporations, such as cathedral chapters and monasteries.'⁴⁸ But he also notes that these units or groups had to be of reasonable size and permanence. Those hermits and recluses who lived alone or in informal groups of two or three did not meet either requirement.

A second reason is that the solitary life by its very nature made close regulation difficult. Hermits might escape supervision altogether; according to Giles Constable, 'Individual hermits were sometimes given a formal approval or *licentia habitandi* by popes and bishops, but in practice, almost anybody could become a hermit and live more or less as they pleased.'⁴⁹ Recluses, particularly those not attached to any religious order, were administratively the responsibility of the local bishop; but he was expected to supervise them only (to borrow a phrase from Jane Austen) 'in a grand and careless way' which did not normally extend to the regulation of their daily life. Although there was some diocesan legislation directed towards recluses, prohibiting risky or improper conduct such as keeping valuables or confessing without a chaperone, Warren describes synodal decrees of this kind as 'remedial, not systematic', intended primarily to correct abuses.⁵⁰ Works of guidance for anchorites sometimes mention spiritual directors, but these seem usually to have been chosen by the anchorites themselves, and to have functioned as occasional advisers rather than hands-on supervisors; Aelred of Rievaulx in the 1160s recommends that recluses should consult their spiritual director *raro* (infrequently).⁵¹

A third reason why solitaries were hard to legislate for is that they were such a diverse body of people. They might come from a lay, clerical or monastic background; their level of education ranged from learned to wholly illiterate; they might have very different needs and capacities. The mid-twelfth-century *Libellus de diversis ordinibus* says of hermits,

Caeterum non moueat quemquam si in hoc ordine quaedam diuersitas appareat, et aliter atque aliter unusquisque uitam suam instituat, ueluti est illud, ut quidam horum soli habitent, quidam uero adiunctis sibi duobus aut tribus aut pluribus, et illud quod alter altero leuius aut durius uiuit, cum et hanc diuersitatem in antiquis heremitis inueniamus, et unusquisque arbitrii sui potestate utatur, ut quantumlibet, et quantum uires suas pensat aggrediatur, nec a Domino inde dampnetur.

(Let no one else be disturbed if a certain diversity should appear in this order and each arranges his life differently, with some living alone, some with two or three or more, living a life that is easier for some and harder for others, with a diversity such as we find among the hermits of old, and let each use the judgement and strength he has so that he may attempt as much as he wishes and as much as his powers allow, and not be condemned by the Lord for it.)⁵²

Nevertheless, there seems to have been a feeling among both solitaries and those who were responsible for their care that some kind of regulation for their way of life was

desirable. A considerable number of works of guidance for anchorites survive from the twelfth century onwards, the majority produced in England;⁵³ and some of them directly address the problem of providing a organizational structure, offering, in Abelard's words, 'aliquam . . . institutionem, quasi quamdam propositi vestri regulam' (some regulations to be a kind of Rule for your calling).⁵⁴

Often these works draw on an earlier tradition of monastic legislation, and although they do not claim legislative status, some of them have much in common with monastic rules. Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione inclusarum*, composed in the early 1160s, sometimes uses the term *regula*: 'ex diuersis patrum institutis, aliqua quae tibi necessaria uidentur excerpens, ad componendum exterioris hominis statum, certam tibi regulam tradere curabo'⁵⁵ (taking from the regulations of various Fathers some things which seem necessary for you to order your external observances, I shall aim to give you a fixed rule). Like the Benedictine Rule, although more discursively, Aelred's guide combines spiritual precepts and outward observances; he describes himself as 'spiritualia corporalibus, ubi utile uisum fuerit, interserens'⁵⁶ (inserting spiritual matters among practical ones where it seems useful), and concludes his work by saying, 'Habes nunc sicut petisti corporales institutiones, quibus inclusa exterioris hominis mores componas; habes formam prescriptam qua interiorem hominem uel purges a uitiis, uel uirtutibus ornes'⁵⁷ (You have now as you requested physical customs, by which as an anchoress you may order your external observances; you have a prescribed form by which you may purge yourselves internally from vices, or adorn yourself with virtues).

But not all writers for solitaries found the adaptation of monastic models for anchoritic purposes so unproblematic. Although during the twelfth century there was an increasing pressure from church authorities for those leading the religious life to conform to monastic structures, there were also (as noted above) significant counter-pressures. The longstanding anchoritic ideal of independence rather than obedience was reinforced in this period by a more general tendency, particularly in reforming circles, to emphasize the importance of the inner life rather than external regulations, and some works for anchorites, even those that draw quite extensively on monastic rules, simultaneously question their need for rules of a traditional kind. Aelred of Rievaulx's contemporary, Peter the Venerable (d.1156), writing to the recluse Gilbert, refuses to give him detailed advice on outward observances, since Gilbert has a better knowledge of his own capacities and limitations, and so should regulate himself:

De jejuniis et vigiliis, sive quibuslibet carnis exasperationibus, nulla a quolibet tibi est, ut mihi videtur, lex praefigenda, quoniam et propria complexio, et usus praeteritus, et praecipue talium rerum gratia tibi a Deo data vel danda nescitur. Tu tibi, qui omnia intima et extima tua nosti, in talibus praeceptor existe.⁵⁸

(No law should be predetermined for you, as it seems to me, on fasting and watching, or any kinds of physical austerity, since your own nature, and your past practice, and above all the grace which God has granted you, or should grant, in these areas are unknown quantities. Since you are familiar with all your inner and outer capacities, you must be your own preceptor in such matters.)

He concludes by saying that if Gilbert loves God, 'jugum praeceptorum Dei, quod asperum prius putaveras, fiet suave'⁵⁹ (the yoke of the precepts of God, which you had previously found harsh, will become pleasant).

Peter's discussion of the two kinds of precept suggests how the problem of legislation for solitaries might be circumvented, and the principle of anchoritic independence maintained. If God's *praecepta* are authoritative for the inner life, and the individual solitary is the person best fitted to determine the *praecepta* governing his outward observances, where is the necessity for a rule?

This is the approach taken in a series of works for anchorites produced in England between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. Its implications are most thoroughly explored in *Ancrene Wisse*, a Middle English guide for female recluses composed probably in the late 1220s, but similar arguments reappear in three later works for solitaries, the 'Dublin Rule', the 'Cambridge Rule' and the 'Oxford Rule' (or 'Rule of Celestine'),⁶⁰ which include parallels to *Ancrene Wisse* and were probably influenced by it.⁶¹ By the early thirteenth century, the term *religio* had become increasingly identified with the way of life of the religious orders, living in community according to an approved rule and customs;⁶² these four works, however, explicitly reassert the value of more individual, less officially regulated forms of the religious life.

Since I have already discussed the treatment of this theme in *Ancrene Wisse* in two earlier articles,⁶³ I will do no more than touch on the author's main points here. Although he sometimes uses the word *riwle* (rule) of his work, the title leaves its status open (the noun *wisse* could mean either 'rule' or 'guide'),⁶⁴ and he begins by raising the question of what constitutes a rule:

Recti diligunt te. 'Lauerd,' seið Godes spus to hire deorewurðe spus, 'þe rihte luuieð þe.' Þeo beoð rihte þe luuieð efter riwle. Ant 3e, mine leoue sustren, habbeð moni dei icrauet on me efter riwle. Monie cunne riwlen beoð; ah twa beoð bimong alle þet Ich chulle spoken of þurh ower bone . . .

(*The righteous love you.* 'Lord', says the bride of God to her beloved bridegroom, 'the righteous love you.' The righteous are those who live according to a rule. And you, my dear sisters, have been asking me for a long time for a rule. There are many kinds of rule; but there are two in particular that I will talk about because of your request . . .)⁶⁵

He goes on to distinguish between an 'inner rule', of divine origin, governing the heart, and an 'outer rule', of human origin, which regulates physical observances. This corresponds to the distinction made in Bernard of Clairvaux's *De Praecepto et dispensatione* – whose Latin he may be echoing at one point⁶⁶ – between the two types of precept in the Rule of St Benedict. But the author of *Ancrene Wisse* argues (like the disaffected monks who wrote to Bernard, and like Heloise) that obedience to precepts on physical observances should not be vowed, since this would cause unnecessary distress and anxiety over petty infractions; he recommends instead that they should be freely dispensed at the discretion of the recluse's spiritual adviser. The spiritual precepts of the 'inner rule', however,

chearite, þet is luue, ant eadmodnesse ant þolemodnesse, treoweschipe ant haldunge of alle þe ten heastes, schrift ant penitence, þeos ant þulliche oþre, þe beoð summe of þe alde lahe, summe of þe neowe, ne beoð nawt monnes fundles ne riwle þet mon stalde, ah beoð Godes heastes, and for-þi euch mon mot ham nede halden, ant 3e ouer alle . . .

(charity (that is, love) and humility and patience, faithfulness and keeping all the ten commandments, confession and penance, these and others like them, some of which belong to the Old Law, some to the New, are not human inventions or a rule established by man, but are God's commands, and therefore everyone is obliged to keep them, and you above all . . .)⁶⁷

The obedience to the 'inner rule' expected from the recluses is presented here as differing only in degree, not in kind, from the obedience to divine precepts expected from humanity as a whole.

It follows from these definitions that anchorites have no need of an approved rule; as in Peter the Venerable's letter to Gilbert, the concept of a 'rule' in the traditional sense disappears into the gap between binding precepts which are not of human origin and precepts of human origin which are not binding. The recluses are told that if people ask what order they belong to, they should reply that they belong to the (non-existent) 'order of St James'. The author cites the definition of *religio* in James 1: 27, '*Religio munda et immaculata apud Deum et Patrem haec est: visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulatione eorum, immaculatum se custodire ab hoc saeculo*' (Pure and immaculate *religio* in the eyes of God our Father is this: to visit orphans and widows in their tribulation, and keep oneself unspotted from the world), explaining that the second role belongs to recluses 'ouer opre religiuse' (more than other religious);⁶⁸ rather than being marginalized by their anchoritic way of life, they are religious *par excellence*. Similarly, in a later but probably authorial addition to part 4 of *Ancrene Wisse*, the expanding group of recluses is presented as belonging to a virtual religious community, 'as in a cloistre þet Iesu is heh priur ouer' (as if in a cloister over which Jesus is the high prior).⁶⁹

Some of the same points are taken up in the 'Dublin Rule', a Latin work for recluses of both sexes. Its earliest surviving manuscript, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 97, which was compiled at some point between 1279 and 1312, also includes other material on the religious life, including the Rules of St Benedict, St Augustine and St Francis, and is characterized by the editor of the 'Dublin Rule', Livarius Oliger, as 'velut parvus codex Regularum' (as it were a little book of Rules).⁷⁰ The incipit of the 'Dublin Rule', however, introduces it not as a *regula* but as a 'norma perfectorum virorum et mulierum' (a *norma* for perfect men and women), identifying it with 'ordo anachoritalis vite et vere caritatis' ('the order of anchoritic life and true charity').⁷¹ Like *Ancrene Wisse*, it praises those who live according to a rule (*regulariter*), but defines this rule as the two commandments of love on which, according to Christ, all the law and the prophets depend (Matt. 22: 37–40): 'Omnes enim in spirituali humilitate regulariter vivere debent. Una quidem regula omnibus Christianis constituta est, ut semper Deum super omnia diligant et proximos suos tanquam semet ipsos'⁷² (For everyone ought to live in spiritual humility according to a rule. Indeed, there is one rule for all Christians, that they should always love God above all things and love their neighbours like themselves). There is also a tendency, as in *Ancrene Wisse*, to play down the importance of outward observances. In chapters 39–40 of the Rule of St Benedict, Benedict had specified, although 'cum aliqua scrupulositate' (with some uneasiness), fixed amounts of food and drink for the monastic community, including a pound of bread and a half-pint (*hemina*) of wine a day. Heloise had complained that these prescriptions were inappropriate for women, and argued that diet should not be prescribed by rule. The author of the 'Dublin Rule', although he sets out general regulations for outward observances, sees detailed

prescriptions of this kind as unnecessary, emphasizing instead the importance of inner disposition and the exercise of the individual will:

Panis boni anachorite numquam debet ponderari neque potus eius mensurari. Sed in omni tempore spiritualiter debet vivere. Igitur si veram mensuram in cordibus nostris meditari volumus, nullam meliorem vel placidiorem Deo quam que in cordibus sit voluntarie nostris afferre poterimus.⁷³

(The bread of a good anchorite never has to be weighed, or his drink measured [*mensurari*]. But at all times he must live spiritually. So if we have the will [*volumus*] to practise true moderation [*mensura*] in our hearts, we can bring to God no better or more pleasing measure than is voluntarily [*voluntarie*] present in our hearts.)

Similar themes reappear in the 'Cambridge Rule' and 'Oxford Rule', which were composed for hermits, the least strictly regulated type of anchorite. The date of composition of both works is uncertain, but none of the manuscripts survives from before the fifteenth century. The older of the two, the 'Cambridge Rule', was associated by earlier scholars with Richard Rolle (d.1349), and the works of Rolle and his circle do sometimes use a similar rhetoric when praising the eremitic life.⁷⁴ There is, however, no firm evidence linking the work with Rolle, and Rolle's own idea of what constituted suitable conduct for a hermit seems to have differed markedly from the regulations set out in the 'Cambridge Rule'.⁷⁵ The 'Rule' draws extensively on Aelred's *De Institutione inclusarum*, but there are also some parallels with *Ancrene Wisse*. Its prologue addresses the status of hermits as religious. The author recognizes the dangers of an unregulated life for solitaries (quoting the criticisms in the Benedictine Rule of *gyrovagi* and *sarabaitae*),⁷⁶ but argues that as long as they follow a prescribed *formula*, they are properly classified as religious – perhaps, as the author of *Ancrene Wisse* had suggested, more so than those who live communally:

Si quidem secundum formulam prescriptam omnimodis vitam suam disponant, heremite inter vere religiosos computandi sunt non indebite. Nam, ut dicit Augustinus, *De vera religione*, religio est qua religamus uni Deo animas nostras vinculo serviendi. Dicitur etiam in canonica Iacobi, c. 1, *Religio munda est apud Deum immaculatum se custodire ab hoc seculo*, quod utique possunt liberius veri heremite.⁷⁷

(If indeed they dispose their lives in every respect according to a prescribed form, hermits are not unjustly to be counted among those who are truly religious. For, as Augustine says in *De vera religione*, religion [*religio*] is that by which we bind [*religamus*] our souls to God alone by serving him. And it is also said in James's canonical epistle, chapter 1, 'Pure religion is keeping oneself with God unspotted from this world', which certainly true hermits can do more freely.)

Although he also refers to his formula as a *regula*, it is not the kind of rule that carries an obligation of obedience. The 'Cambridge Rule', like *Ancrene Wisse*, invokes instead the image of a virtual cloister: 'Soli Deo debet heremita obedienciam facere, quia ipse est abbas, prior et prepositus claustris cordis sui'⁷⁸ (The hermit owes obedience to God alone, because He is the abbot, prior and provost of the cloister of his heart). The hermit is advised to notify his chosen way of life to the bishop of his diocese, or to a local patron 'si fuerit prelatas vel sacerdos bone discretionis' (if he is a prelate or priest of sound

discretion); if they find anything in him to correct, ‘libenter obediat consiliis eorum propter Christum, qui dicit doctoribus Luc. 10: *Qui vos audit, me audit*’⁷⁹ (he should gladly obey their advice for the sake of Christ, who says to the doctors in Luke 10[: 16], ‘He who listens to you, listens to me’). Alternatively, he can (with the bishop’s consent) choose an experienced priest from a local monastery or church as a spiritual adviser, ‘cuius non solum consiliis immo etiam in preceptis, in hiis que non sunt contra Deum vel presentem regulam, devote obediat, imitans Dominum, de quo dicitur: *Factus obediens usque ad mortem*’⁸⁰ (and devoutly obey not only his advice but his precepts, in anything which is not against God or the present rule, imitating God, of whom it is said, ‘He became obedient to the point of death’ [Phil. 2: 8]). But this obedience to human authority remains voluntary, a choice rather than an obligation.

Some of the material from the ‘Cambridge Rule’ is taken over in the later ‘Oxford Rule’, which its most recent editor, E. A. Jones, argues was probably composed in the fifteenth century, and which continued in use into the early sixteenth century.⁸¹ Unlike the earlier English anchoritic guides discussed here, the ‘Oxford Rule’ makes no attempt to reclaim the word *religio* – which it uses throughout to refer to the religious orders – for the solitary life, but it lays similar emphasis on the possibility of a way of life which is spiritually advanced but extra-monastic. One chapter argues that although it is possible to be rich and married and still live virtuously, it is better to renounce all earthly goods and follow Christ; but it is headed, ‘Quod vere pauper Christi sancte possit vivere, licet non ingrediatur religionem’⁸² (That the truly poor man of Christ can lead a holy life, even if he does not enter a religious order). The author of the ‘Oxford Rule’ draws attention explicitly to its lack of legislative status: ‘licet status heremitarum regula careat canonica, nichilominus tamen omnibus, qui viam vere paupertatis pro Christo Ihesu elegerunt, valde necessarium est quod sancte vivant’⁸³ (although the estate of hermits lacks a canonical rule, nevertheless it is very necessary that all those who have chosen the path of true poverty for the sake of Jesus Christ should lead a holy life). However, he does not present this lack of an approved rule as a problem, arguing instead that hermits answer to a higher power. He takes over, with minor modifications, the first part of the passage in the ‘Cambridge Rule’ on obedience cited above (‘Soli Deo . . . me audit’),⁸⁴ and adds that the hermit

Omnipotenti Deo faciat votum paupertatis et castitatis cum Dei adiutorio. Votum huiusmodi non debet fieri per preceptum alicuius hominis sive status, sed soli Deo, ‘cui servire regnare est’, faciat votum suum. Aliter enim videretur quod militaret sub regula vel homine. Sed tamen episcopo si velit faciat votum suum et secundum consilium vivat, si potest.⁸⁵

(should make a vow of poverty and chastity, with divine help, to Almighty God. A vow of this kind should not be made according the precept of any human being or constitution; on the contrary, he should make his vow only to God, ‘to serve whom is to reign’, because otherwise it would seem that he was serving under a rule or a human being. But nevertheless if he wishes, he can make his vow to the bishop, and live according to his advice, if he can.)

The metaphor of military service here (‘quod *militaret* sub regula vel homine’) is probably a deliberate reminiscence of the first chapter of the Rule of St Benedict, where the monk is seen as ‘*militans sub regula vel abbate*’⁸⁶ (serving under a rule or an abbot), as opposed to hermits who have been equipped by their monastic training to pass ‘*fraterna ex acie*

ad singularem pugnam eremi' (from the battle line in the ranks of their brothers to the single combat of the desert).⁸⁷ The emphasis is on the hermit's independence from the formal structures of the communal religious life; the author warns him not to wear clothes too similar to the habit of an existing order, since this might incur the hostility of *religiosi*,⁸⁸ and says that it is up to him to choose which form of the Divine Office he should recite, because 'non est regulata persona nec ad chori servicium per professionem obligata'⁸⁹ (he is not someone subject to a rule or committed to a particular choir service by profession).

Although these four works are written to supply a regulatory framework for anchorites, combining general spiritual advice with prescriptions on outward observances, they simultaneously emphasize that solitaries have no need for 'rules' in the traditional sense. Why do they take this line? There are a number of possible reasons, not necessarily mutually exclusive.

One is that it was a precaution against suspicions of heterodoxy, particularly after the prohibition of new rules by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215; this is suggested by the comment in Part 8 of *Ancrene Wisse*,

Biuoren on earst Ich seide þet 3e ne schulden nawiht as i vu bihaten forte halden nan of þe uttre riwlen; þet ilke Ich segge 3etten. Ne nane ne write Ich ham buten ow ane. Ich segge þis for-þi þet oþre ancren ne seggen nawt þet Ich þurh mi meistrie makie ham neowe Riwle.

(I said earlier, at the beginning, that you should not commit yourselves to keeping any of the outer rules by a vow; I say the same now. And I am not writing them for anyone apart from you. I mention this so that other anchoresses cannot say that I am presuming to make a new Rule for them.)⁹⁰

A second (and related) possibility is that it functioned as a consolatory topos for a group that was becoming increasingly marginalized in the later Middle Ages, religious who were not also regulars – like the women to whom *Ancrene Wisse* was addressed, who had entered the anchorhold directly from secular life but found that they kept being asked what religious order they belonged to. It is easy to see how in these circumstances it might have been consoling to solitaries to be assured that instead of serving under a rule or a human superior, they answered directly to Christ, 'to serve whom is to reign'.

But there seems also, as I have argued, to have been a third influence involved, a strand of religious radicalism which can be traced back to the beginnings of the 'Medieval Reformation', reacting against the traditional monastic ideal of obedience and emphasizing inner disposition rather than external regulation. The probably Dominican origin of *Ancrene Wisse*⁹¹ might help to explain its stress on the relative unimportance of external regulations; the Dominicans were the first religious order to make their external regulations generally dispensable (that is, not just in individual cases, but whenever they were seen as impeding the broader aims of the order) and also the first to introduce the 'principle of purely penal law' (that is, although members of the order might be punished for infringing external regulations, this would not normally be counted as a breach of the vow of obedience, and hence as a grave sin).⁹² It goes beyond this, however, in addressing directly the marginal status under canon law of its anchoritic audience, not only minimizing the importance of external regulations but emphasizing the value of independence. Like some earlier writers of the 'Medieval Reformation', the author of *Ancrene Wisse* looks

back to the solitaries of the early church for a model of the anchoritic life. He contrasts his audience's insecurity about their extra-monastic status with the confidently unregimented liberty of the first anchorites in the Egyptian desert:

Pawel þe Earste Ancre, Antonie ant Arsenie, Makarie ant te oþre, neren ha religiuse ant of Sein James ordre? Alswa Seinte Sare ant Seinte Sincretice, ant monie oþre swucche, wepmen ba ant wummen, wið hare greate matten ant hare hearde heren; neren ha of god ordre? Ant hweðer hwite oðer blake – as unwise ow easkið þe weneð þet ordre sitte i þe curtel – Godd wat . . .

(Paul the First Hermit, Anthony and Arsenius, Macarius and the others, weren't they religious and of St James's order? Likewise St Sarah and St Syncletica, and many others like them, both men and women, with their coarse mats and their harsh hair-shirts; didn't they belong to a good order? And whether white or black – as ignorant people ask you, thinking that order consists in the outer garment – God knows . . .)⁹³

These four later-medieval English 'rules' share not only an evident awareness of the problems of regulating the solitary life but a common rhetoric, which they use simultaneously to assimilate their extra-monastic users to a monastic regulatory model and to dissociate them from it. While they reclaim terms such as *religio*, *ordo* and *regula* from their increasingly close association with the approved religious orders, they also redefine them, offering an alternative interpretation of the religious life which emphasizes divine rather than human authority, and free choice rather than obedience. Disclaiming their own legislative status, these 'rules' present the anchorite as living 'unspotted from the world' within a virtual cloister, where God is abbot, prior and provost and 'there is no rule but the gospel of Christ'.

Notes

- ¹ Bella Millett, 'The genre of *Ancrene Wisse*', in Yoko Wada (ed.), *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), pp. 29–44.
- ² Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1985), p. 101.
- ³ See *ibid.*, Appendix 2, 'English anchorite rules' (pp. 294–8).
- ⁴ Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 137. See further Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, pp. 101–2, and Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 135–7.
- ⁵ Ivo of Chartres, *Letter* 256, *PL* 162. 261. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
- ⁶ Bernard the Carthusian, *Letter* 3, *PL* 153. 898.
- ⁷ In the patristic period, the term was often understood as referring to celibacy rather than solitude; and Augustine linked it to the 'cor unum et anima una' (one heart and one soul [Acts 4: 32]) that should characterize communal monastic life. See Benedict of Nursia, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. and trans. Timothy Fry (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1981), pp. 62–3 and Appendix 1, pp. 301–13.
- ⁸ See, e.g., Jerome's account, dated to 384, of the different categories (*genera*) of Egyptian *monachi*, which distinguishes those following a disciplined common life (*coenobium*) from 'anachoretæ, qui soli habitant per deserta' (anchorites, who live alone in the desert) (*Letter* 22, §§ 34–6, *CSEL* 54. 196–201).
- ⁹ See Benedict of Nursia, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 32–3.
- ¹⁰ Jerome, *Letter* 125, § 9, *CSEL* 56. 127.

- ¹¹ See Stefan Rebenich, *Jerome*, The Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 13–19 (Rebenich argues, however, that Jerome's life in this period was considerably less solitary than has generally been assumed).
- ¹² Jerome, Letter 125, § 9, *CSEL* 56. 128.
- ¹³ Jerome, Letter 125, § 15, *CSEL* 56. 133.
- ¹⁴ Jerome, Letter 125, § 9, *CSEL* 56. 128.
- ¹⁵ Jerome, Letter 125, § 15, *CSEL* 56. 133.
- ¹⁶ Prologue, vv. 1–3, Fry (ed. and trans.), *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 156–7. The echo of Ps. 44: 11 in the first sentence may have been influenced by its use as the opening quotation of Jerome's Letter 22.
- ¹⁷ On this tradition, see Fry (ed. and trans.), *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 313–20; most of chapter 1 is taken directly from an earlier rule, the *Regula Magistri*.
- ¹⁸ Ch. 1, vv. 2–5, see Fry (ed. and trans.), *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 168–9.
- ¹⁹ Chapter 1, vv. 6–11, Fry (ed. and trans.), *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 168–71, which says of the *sarabaitae* 'pro lege eis est desideriorum voluntas' (their law is what they like to do) (v. 8), and of the *gyrovagi* that they are 'semper vagi et numquam stabiles, et propriis voluntatibus . . . servientes' (Always on the move, they never settle down, and are slaves to their own wills) (v. 11).
- ²⁰ Grimlaic tells us in his Prologue that his namesake, Grimlaic the priest, suggested 'ut Regulam solitariorum, videlicet coenobitarum, describerem' (that I should put in writing a Rule for solitaries, that is, cenobitic solitaries) (*Regula solitariorum*; *PL* 103. 575; Andrew Thornton (trans.), *Grimlaicus: Rule for Solitaries*, Cistercian Studies Series, 200 (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, 2011), p. 25; I am grateful to the author for making it possible for me to consult his translation online in advance of its publication).
- ²¹ See the account of this development, and the reasons for it, in Andrew Thornton, 'An invitation to the Rule for Solitaries by Grimlaicus', *American Benedictine Review*, 59 (2008), 203–7. The Vannes decree forbids *monachi* to withdraw from the community into individual cells unless they have already proved themselves by their efforts or, alternatively, need special concessions because of ill health: 'Quod ita demum fiet, ut intra monasterii septa manentes, tamen sub abbatis potestate separatas habere cellulas permittantur' (This is to be done such that they remain within the enclosure of the monastery yet are permitted to have separate cells under the abbot's authority), *Concilia Galliae 314–506: Concilium Veneticum a. 461–491*; *CCSL* 148.153; Thornton (trans.), 'An invitation', p. 204.
- ²² *Regula solitariorum*, ch. 15; *PL* 103. 593; Thornton (trans.), *Grimlaicus: Rule for Solitaries*, p. 54.
- ²³ See *Regula solitariorum*, chs. 16–17; *PL* 103. 594–6.
- ²⁴ 'Orthodoxorum Patrum sententias exemplaque diversa decerpsi, et ex his hanc Regulam componere satégi' (I excerpted various sayings and examples of the orthodox fathers and have contented myself with fashioning this rule from them): *Regula solitariorum*, Prologue; *PL* 103. 575; Thornton (trans.), *Grimlaicus: Rule for Solitaries*, p. 56.
- ²⁵ 'The framework of Benedict's Rule for monastic communities becomes the framework of Grimlaicus' Rule for enclosed solitaries. Whether through quotation, adaptation or allusion, the voice of RB [*Regula Benedicti*] is discernible throughout all of Grimlaicus' text' (Thornton, 'An invitation', p. 201).
- ²⁶ The most significant differences are the substitution of 'ad destinatum propositum' (into the purpose he has resolved on) for 'in congregatione' (into the community) and 'egredi ex ipsa retrusione' (go out of that enclosure) for 'egredi de monasterio' (leave the monastery); see *Regula sancti Benedicti*, ch. 58, vv. 9–16; Nursia, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, pp. 266–9.
- ²⁷ *Regula solitariorum*, ch. 15; *PL* 103. 593; Thornton (trans.), *Grimlaicus: Rule for Solitaries*, pp. 54–5.
- ²⁸ This useful shorthand term for the major organizational, spiritual and pastoral developments that took place in the church during the 'long twelfth century' is not accepted by all scholars, and not all those who use the term 'Reformation' agree on the time it covers. Constable's *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* focuses mainly on the period before 1160, but I have followed Brenda

- Bolton, *The Medieval Reformation*, Foundations of Medieval History (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), in taking the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 as marking its completion.
- ²⁹ *De Praecepto et dispensatione*, § 1, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), 3. 254; Conrad Greenia (trans.), *On Precept and Dispensation*, in *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, vol. 1, *Treatises 1*, Cistercian Fathers Series 1 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), pp. 105–6.
- ³⁰ *De Praecepto et dispensatione*, § 17, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 3. 265; Greenia (trans.), *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, 1. 117.
- ³¹ ‘Introduction’, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, 1. 85.
- ³² Letter 6, in ed. J. T. Muckle, ‘The letter of Heloise on religious life and Abelard’s first reply’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 17 (1955), 243; Betty Radice (trans.), *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, rev. M. T. Clanchy (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 95. Cf. *De Praecepto et dispensatione*, § 22, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 3. 269; Greenia (trans.), p. 122: ‘vos . . . asseritis, si hoc constiterit, ut iussa quaelibet hominum vel instituta, divinae auctoritatis pondere aestimanda sint; hominem sub homine, aut vix, aut nequaquam posse salvari’ (you [i.e. the dissatisfied monks] . . . assert that this imputing of divine authority to the commands and ordinances of men makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the subject to save his soul).
- ³³ Letter 6, ed. Muckle, ‘The letter of Heloise on religious life’, p. 245; Radice (trans.), *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, p. 99.
- ³⁴ Letter 6, ed. Muckle, ‘The letter of Heloise on religious life’, p. 242; Radice (trans.), *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, p. 94.
- ³⁵ Letter 8, T. P. McLaughlin (ed.), ‘Abelard’s rule for religious women’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 18 (1956), 242; Radice (trans.), *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, p. 130; my emphasis.
- ³⁶ The use of the Rule of St Basil was limited, however, to a few Greek monastic communities in southern Italy; see further p. 17 below.
- ³⁷ Canon 26, in Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (eds), *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973), p. 203.
- ³⁸ Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford History of the Christian Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 69.
- ³⁹ *Liber de doctrina . . . beati viri Stephani patris religionis Grandimontensis*, CCCM 8. 5.
- ⁴⁰ J. Dubois, ‘Les ordres religieux au xii^e siècle selon la Curie romaine’, *Revue Bénédictine*, 78 (1968), 283–309.
- ⁴¹ See *ibid.*, 285; my emphasis.
- ⁴² See *ibid.*, 296–7 (Dubois’s quotation of the 1145 bull has been expanded slightly, from the full text in *PL* 180. 1072).
- ⁴³ Guigo 1, *Consuetudines*, Prologue, § 2; *PL* 153. 637.
- ⁴⁴ Dubois, ‘Les ordres religieux’, 292.
- ⁴⁵ An illuminating postscript to the mention of the Rule of St Benedict in these formulas can be found in a 1243 letter of Pope Innocent IV to Agnes of Bohemia. Agnes had asked him if it could be removed from the formula for her house of Poor Clares, since the nuns could not reasonably be expected to follow both the rule of their own order and the Rule of St Benedict, and they feared that any failure to observe the latter would constitute a mortal sin. Innocent refuses the request, but reassures Agnes that the nuns are committed by their vows only to the obedience expected of any religious, not to all the precepts of the Benedictine Rule, which is simply specified ‘ut per ipsam quasi praecipuam de Regulis approbatis, vestra Religio authentica redderetur’ (so that your religious way of life should be authorized by it, as the most excellent of the approved rules). See Dubois, ‘Les ordres religieux’, 307.
- ⁴⁶ Jacques Hourlier, *L’Âge Classique 1140–1378: Les Religieux*, Histoire du droit et des institutions de l’Église en Occident, vol. 10 (Paris: Éditions Cujas, 1974), p. 148.
- ⁴⁷ Canon 13, *De novis religionibus prohibitis*, in Alberigo et al. (eds), *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, p. 242.
- ⁴⁸ James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, The Medieval World (London: Longman, 1995), p. 159.
- ⁴⁹ Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, p. 61.

- ⁵⁰ Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 57.
- ⁵¹ *De Institutione inclusarum*, § 6, CCCM 1. 642; his recommendation is taken over in a later guide for hermits, the 'Cambridge Rule' (see pp. 23–4 below).
- ⁵² *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia*, Giles Constable and B. Smith (ed. and trans.), Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 14–17.
- ⁵³ Works of guidance for anchorites are listed in Livarius Oliger, 'Regula reclusorum Angliae et quaestiones tres de vita solitaria, saec. xiii–xiv', *Antonianum*, 9 (1934), 48 and Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, Appendix 2, pp. 294–8. The preponderance of English guides has been explained by the tendency of Continental recluses to use 'the monastic rule of the convent on which they were dependent'; see Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, p. 102, n. 24.
- ⁵⁴ See p. 16 above.
- ⁵⁵ *De Institutione inclusarum*, § 1, CCCM 1. 637.
- ⁵⁶ *De Institutione inclusarum*, § 1, CCCM 1. 637.
- ⁵⁷ *De Institutione inclusarum*, § 33, CCCM 1. 681.
- ⁵⁸ Letter 20, *PL* 189. 99.
- ⁵⁹ Letter 20, *PL* 189. 100.
- ⁶⁰ 'Oxford Rule' translates the title (*Regula eremitarum Oxonienis*) assigned by Livarius Oliger, editor of the Latin version (which survives in a single manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 72); 'Rule of Celestine' is the title preferred by E. A. Jones, who is currently completing an edition of the three Middle English versions, all of which include an (unfounded) attribution to Pope Celestine V (c.1215–96). I am grateful to Dr Jones for giving me access to the draft introduction of his edition; see also his article 'Canons and hermits: the chapel of St Simon and St Jude, Coverdale', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 76 (2004), 153–69, which includes a transcription of one of the English versions of the 'Rule'.
- ⁶¹ See the discussion of their sources in Livarius Oliger, 'Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae saec. xiii–xiv', *Antonianum*, 3 (1928), 156–8.
- ⁶² See Peter Biller, 'Words and the medieval notion of "religion"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 351–69 (the point is neatly illustrated by the use of *religio* in Canon 13 of the Fourth Lateran Council, quoted on p. 18 above).
- ⁶³ See Bella Millett, 'Ancrene Wisse and the life of perfection', *Leeds Studies in English*, 33 (2002), 53–76 (on the concept of *religio*), and 'The genre of *Ancrene Wisse*' (on the relationship of *Ancrene Wisse* to monastic legislative tradition).
- ⁶⁴ See E. J. Dobson, *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 51–3.
- ⁶⁵ *Ancrene Wisse*, Preface, lines 8–12, Bella Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 402, with Variants from other Manuscripts*, 2 vols, EETS OS 325, 326 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 2006), I, p. 1; Bella Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for anchoresses: A Translation based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), p. 1.
- ⁶⁶ Preface, line 49, Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, I, p. 2; see note on Preface, lines 45–89, *ibid.*, II, p. 6.
- ⁶⁷ Preface, lines 75–80, Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, I, p. 3; Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for anchoresses*, p. 3.
- ⁶⁸ Preface, line 116, Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, I, p. 4; Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for anchoresses*, p. 4.
- ⁶⁹ 4. 1095–6, Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, I, p. 97; Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for anchoresses*, p. 97. On the concept of the 'virtual cloister', see further Millett, 'Ancrene Wisse and the life of perfection', and Christiana Whitehead, 'Making a cloister of the soul in medieval religious treatises', *Medium Aevum*, 67 (1998), 1–29; the image is increasingly used in the later Middle Ages to represent various forms of extra-monastic religious life.
- ⁷⁰ See Oliger, 'Regulae tres', 152–4. A later text survives, together with other anchoritic material including a text of the Latin version of *Ancrene Wisse*, in an early fourteenth-century manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. vii (see Hope Emily Allen, 'Further borrowings from "Ancren Riwe"', *Modern Language Review*, 24 (1929), 1–15, and Bella Millett, *Ancrene Wisse*,

The Katherine Group, and the Wooing Group, Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature, 2 (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996), pp. 53–4).

⁷¹ Prologue, Oliger, ‘Regulae tres’, 170. The word *regula* is used rarely in the text, mainly of divine law or specific regulations; the reference in chapter 6 (p. 178) to the good anchorite who ‘bene observat regulam suam’ (observes his rule well) is a marginal addition.

⁷² Prologue, Oliger, ‘Regulae tres’, 170.

⁷³ Ch. 23, Oliger, ‘Regulae tres’, 182.

⁷⁴ In Ch. 47 of *Melos Amoris*, Rolle denies that obedience to an abbot gives monks any claim to moral superiority over solitaries, arguing that the true aim of the religious life is ‘soli Deo servire’ (to serve God alone’) (SC 169, 2. 138, 144); the office composed for Rolle in the 1380s in the unfulfilled expectation of his canonization includes the response and versicle:

R. Sanctus fugit ad solitudinem;
intrat ibi celestem ordinem,
sancte uite querens dulcedinem.

V. Illuc tenet perfectam regulam;
abbas amor dat morum formulam
sancte uite

(The holy man flees to the wilderness; there he enters a heavenly order, seeking the sweetness of holy life. There he keeps a perfect rule; Love as abbot gives him a *formula* for the customs of holy life) (*The Officium and Miracula of Richard Rolle*, ed. Reginald Maxwell Woolley (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919), p. 24; punctuation modernized here).

⁷⁵ See Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 40–53, 305.

⁷⁶ Prologue, Oliger, ‘Regulae tres’, 301–2; see p. 13 above.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 301.

⁷⁸ Ch. 2, *ibid.*, 304.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 304–5.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 305.

⁸¹ See n. 60 above. I shall be citing the Latin text edited in Oliger, ‘Regulae tres’, 312–20.

⁸² Ch. 2, *ibid.*, 312.

⁸³ Prologue, *ibid.*, 312.

⁸⁴ Ch. 3, *ibid.*, 313.

⁸⁵ Ch. 4, *ibid.*, 313.

⁸⁶ Ch. 1.1, Fry (ed. and trans.), *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*, p. 168.

⁸⁷ Ch. 1.5, *ibid.*, pp. 168–9.

⁸⁸ Ch. 8, Oliger, ‘Regulae tres’, 314.

⁸⁹ Ch. 18, *ibid.*, 318.

⁹⁰ 8. 1–5, Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, I. 155; Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for anchoresses*, p. 155.

⁹¹ See Bella Millett, ‘The origins of *Ancrene Wisse*: new answers, new questions’, *Medium Ævum*, 61 (1992), 206–28.

⁹² See Florent Cygler, ‘L’originalité des “constitutions primitives” dominicaines’, in Giovanni Bertuzzi (ed.), *L’Origine dell’ordine dei predicatori e l’università di Bologna* (Bologna: Edizione Studio Domenicano, 2006), pp. 57–78. The principle was formally adopted in 1236, but Cygler sees it as anticipated earlier in Dominic’s thinking. Humbert of Romans explains in his mid-thirteenth-century commentary on the Dominican constitutions that otherwise ‘multi perderent pacem conscientiae, et essent in continua amaritudine, propter huiusmodi peccata minuta’ (many would lose their peace of conscience, and be in continual distress, on account of petty sins of this kind) (*Expositio . . . super constitutiones Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier, *B. Humberti de Romanis . . . opera de vita regulari*, 2 vols (Torino: Marietti, 1956), 2. 48); cf. Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, Preface II 63–92, Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, I. 2–3.

⁹³ Preface, lines 119–25, Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, I. 4; Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for anchoresses*, p. 4.

The Role of the Anchoritic Guidance Writer: Goscelin of St Bertin*

MARI HUGHES-EDWARDS

The scholarship of English anchoritic guidance writing has, traditionally, investigated the spiritual advice communicated by the guides to their reclusive readers. Yet, these guides, extant from c.1080 and often written by men for female family members, friends and even for former sweethearts of a kind imply a network of personal relationships that pre-exist enclosure and persist beyond it. The paradox has gone largely unexplored: personal relationships between guidance writer and recluse have generated a genre devoted to the severance of such ties. Anchoritic guides are meant, in theory at least, to assist their recluses in the destruction of the very relationships that have generated their textual production.

The reclusive readership of the English anchoritic guidance tradition can be broadly split into two groups: generative and incidental. The generative reader is credited, often by the guidance writer himself, with having generated the actual text, or with having inspired significant modification to the original guide, as for example in the case of some of the texts of *Ancrene Wisse*, or *The Myroure of Recluses*, the medieval vernacular translation of the later medieval Latin guide, *Speculum inclusorum*.¹ An incidental readership, in contrast, is broader. This wider audience may be conceived of, or even alluded to directly, by the guidance writer, or it may not, but the text is neither written, nor substantially modified, to meet its specific needs. The guides themselves construct the generative bond as more intimate, and none is more so than that which inspired the earliest extant English anchoritic guide: Goscelin of St Bertin's *Liber confortatorius*. The work of one man for one recluse, Eve of Wilton, this is a text which, its writer alleges, is founded on a relationship of significant familiarity.

In comparison to other earlier medieval guides like *Ancrene Wisse*, the *Liber* has been less explored in critical terms.² Yet, of all the English anchoritic guidance writers, Goscelin writes with the greatest emotional intensity and with a desperate sadness at Eve's apparently secret departure for a French reclusorium. This article looks in detail at the textual constructions of the generative relationship between this guidance writer and his recluse. It analyses the *Liber* first of all as a seemingly personal document, revelatory of private sorrow. Then it evaluates its anchoritic ideology, focusing on Goscelin's constructions of professional eremitic enclosure and solitude. Ultimately, the article seeks to discover what this, the first guide in the English tradition, can tell us about the importance of

generative relationships to the anchoritic guidance writing tradition as a whole. It seeks also to uncover the potential implications of the guide's ostensibly personal pose for its efficacy as a professional working tool for eremites.

The *Liber* was composed c.1080 and survives in a single manuscript, London, British Library, MS Sloane 3103, a later copy of the text from the mid-twelfth century, which Stephanie Hollis argues belonged to the Abbey of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte in the diocese of Coutances in Normandy.³ Written in Latin, it is a letter long enough to require extensive subdivision (into a prologue and four books). It is not, as are other earlier medieval anchoritic guides by Anselm, Aelred and the *Ancrene Wisse* author, presented as the result of persistent request from its reclusive readership.⁴ Uniquely, in terms of the anchoritic guidance tradition, it appears, in the first instance at least, to be inspired more by the needs of its writer than its recipient. The *Liber* is intended, in its opening books especially, to comfort Goscelin far more than the recluse to whom it is ostensibly offered.

We know little about Eve. Hollis argues that she was noble, 'the English-born daughter of a Danish father and a Lotharingian mother'.⁵ She speculates that Eve was the niece of Bishop Herman of Ramsbury and Sherborne, to whose household Goscelin was attached.⁶ Eve (d.1120) seems to have been dedicated as a child oblate to the Wilton community in 1065 and to have become a recluse at a young age, initially at the French church of Saint-Laurent du Tertre in Angers.⁷ Despite her presence at Wilton from childhood, we do not know if she was a nun prior to becoming a recluse and her motives for leaving the coenobitic community are also unknown.⁸ The circumstances of Eve's life remain shrouded in silence, appropriately enough if read in the context of early medieval guidance, which, despite its acknowledgement of the inevitability of some reclusive social contact, nonetheless idealizes solitude and spatial privation.⁹

More is known about Goscelin himself.¹⁰ Born c.1040 in northern France, and originally a Benedictine monk at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer, he moved to England some time prior to 1065.¹¹ Part of the household of Bishop Herman, Goscelin was, Hollis argues: 'foremost among the authors who recreated the Anglo-Saxon past for the Norman regime'.¹² Goscelin may have been a convent chaplain at Wilton, or perhaps even Eve's tutor, but this is not known for certain.¹³ He was, however, certainly engaged by the community to write the *Vita* and the *Translatio* of its patron saint, Edith (c.961–84), and was therefore occupied with the business of the textual commemoration of Wilton's women for some time prior to the composition of his anchoritic guide. Yet, by the time he wrote the *Liber*, he had been forced to leave Wiltshire by Herman's successor, Osmund, son of Henry, count of Seez. Hollis terms Goscelin thereafter a '*gyrovagus* [or monastic vagrant] . . . whose position lacked authorization', and who, in contrast to his former years of ecclesiastical security, found himself isolated, with his career prospects severely limited.¹⁴ It is ostensibly due to his sorrow at the bleakness of this double banishment from Wilton and from Eve that the *Liber* owes its existence. To comfort himself, Goscelin deliberately casts it as the first of many textual exchanges that he hopes will 'shuttle' between them.¹⁵ Yet, we do not know that Eve desired Goscelin's continued communications, or even that she received this first letter, much less that she replied, whether once or as part of an enduring association. We certainly do not know how she reacted to the letter if she received it; much less that she used the *Liber* as a guide for her newly enclosed life. As Hollis observes, we have no proof even that 'it was ever sent . . . There is no evidence that it was known to Goscelin's contemporaries or to later generations'.¹⁶

Reading the Liber as personal testimony

Anchoritic guides are not factual revelations of anchoritic practice, but normative ideological texts which provide valuable evidence of what some of the most talented medieval spiritual thinkers believed should be the purpose, and could be the potential of this important spiritual vocation. The guides are professional tools, but they are also often constructed as personal documents, spinning us the subjectivity of their creators in contexts reflective of specific geographical, social, spiritual and personal circumstances. No guide spins us its story more overtly than Goscelin's. He tells us the tale of his betrayal, a betrayal mediated through anchoritism itself. He delivers his, inevitably biased, version of events, his narrative driven by the vehement, sometimes even angry, need to vivify the consequences, as he feels them, of Eve's anchoritic defection. Once, Goscelin believed that he and Eve were 'unicam aliquando duorum animam' ('one soul in two people').¹⁷ Yet, theirs is now a soul torn in two and it is anchoritism that has occasioned this rupture. To an extent, in the very act of writing his guide, Goscelin reconciles himself to Eve's vocational choice. Yet, he moves back and forth from the pose of inconsolable lover to the more traditional one (in the context of the guidance genre, that is) of willing anchoritic guidance writer, the reinforcer of Eve's anchoritic ideology. Yet, even by the conclusion of his guide, Goscelin's textual self-constructions demonstrate rage and pain that are never fully eradicated.

Reading the *Liber* is an act of witness: to the intensity of Goscelin's anger, his ardour for Eve and the sense of abandonment prompted by her alleged betrayal of their bond. The reader experiences his rising panic, feels his physical and emotional turmoil and witnesses his agony. Whatever the reality of Goscelin's relationship with Eve, and whatever the actual circumstances of her departure for France, the *Liber* constructs itself as passionate personal testimony, the turbulent narrative of a man cruelly deserted and violently disappointed by the woman he loves. His outbursts are something of a surprise to those familiar with the later measured prose of Aelred's *De institutione inclusarum* (c.1160–2), or the dignified and comparatively distant admiration evinced by *Ancrene Wisse* (c.1215–30), whose Nero text features such elegantly expressed esteem for its original reclusive sisterhood and whose Corpus text extends that admiration to a widened generative group of twenty or more recluses.¹⁸ The modern reader, who expects from Goscelin the same moderately expressed persuasion, is brought up short from the very start of a guide that descends to the depths, even as it 'petit astra quadrigis' ('heads for the stars in a chariot').¹⁹

Much of the *Liber* is a retrospective reconstruction of, and homage to, Goscelin and Eve's allegedly mutual admiration. Such was their reciprocated attachment that he declares: 'Longum est exequi cuncta' ('It would take too long to retell everything').²⁰ He must reassure himself of their devotion's longevity and mutuality before he can reconcile himself to its loss. He must also establish its foundations in purity. Goscelin tells Eve that theirs was a love born from another, far greater, one: the love of God, bound up first and foremost in a shared passion for spiritual learning. In a narrative that anticipates sophisticated levels of literacy from his evidently well-educated recluse, intellectual exchange is cast as a safe medium for Goscelin and Eve's former interaction and (Goscelin hopes) their continued communication.²¹ His encouragement of Eve's reading programme is an encouragement of their continued intellectual exchange, their continued devotion. His

insistence on the purity of that shared learning is also a concurrent insistence on their sexual innocence. Goscelin advises Eve to read texts by Jerome and Gregory, Augustine's *Confessions* and *De Civitate Dei*, Orosius' *De Ormesta Mundi* and Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*.²² Such encouragement allows him the chance to celebrate, through frequent quotation and paraphrase, spiritual thinking which was apparently formerly beloved by them both. He predicates their love upon the shared language of spiritual devotion and fashions their intimacy in the ancient tradition of deeply held devotion between pupil and teacher. He anticipates, and explicitly rejects, a suspicious incidental readership determined to distort this pure bond. Christ is the only chaperone they need, the guardian of their shared learning, of their relationship and of the guide itself: 'Archanum duorum est Christo medio signatum, virginee simplicitatis et candide dilectionis prelibans officium' ('This secret [i.e. the guide] between two people is sealed with Christ as mediator . . . [it is] nothing but virginal simplicity and pure love').²³ Ultimately, Goscelin damns his critics, declaring: 'maluimus alieno supercilio infatuari, quam non satis facere caritati' ('I would rather be ridiculed by the raised eyebrows of strangers than not do justice to love').²⁴

Yet, even when Goscelin seeks to render his passion safely spiritual, his narrative remains sensual, as, for example, in his reconstruction of a visualization which vivifies him sharing the word of God with Eve: 'Recolisne quod te a me cibatum pane candidissimo ante nostrum spiritum somniaueras, tibi que inter edendum massas aureas in ore repertas, quas sensim in gremium colligebas?' ('Do you remember when you told me your dream, in which I was feeding you with snow-white bread, and as you ate you found golden morsels in your mouth which you collected in your lap?')²⁵ Despite all his protestations, the *Liber* casts Goscelin and Eve more often as parted lovers in the grip of heartbreak than the mature devotees of Christ (from whom, after all, neither has been exiled, despite their separation from each other). Monika Otter fittingly describes the guide as 'an account of a deep, desperate, only half sublimated love between a man and a woman in religious orders'.²⁶ Yet, Rebecca Hayward cautions that the text is markedly less 'erotically-charged' than the writings of Baudri of Bourgueil and Marbod of Rennes or Heloise and Abelard, and that it does not demonstrate these texts' more explicit 'sexual longing and fulfilment'.²⁷ Nonetheless, Goscelin and Eve's generative bond reads, at times, more like a marital break-up than the parting of pupil and teacher:

Omnia tempora tempus suum habent . . . Habuimus nos quoque nostra tempora. Satis inuicem uidimus, satis colloqui sumus, conuiuati quoque et epulati, sollemnizati et iocundati satis . . . si modo quicquam satis esse posset caritati . . . Nunc, inquam, tempus eundi in fletus

(Everything has its season . . . We, too, had our times . . . we saw each other enough, we talked to each other enough, we had each other's company and ate together enough, we celebrated the holy rites together and rejoiced together enough – if anything could ever be enough for love . . . Now indeed is the time to walk in tears).²⁸

This recluse was this guidance writer's 'uite iocunditatem' ('life's joy'),²⁹ to whom he exclaims: 'O luce dilector anima, adest tibi Goscelinus tuus . . . unanimes tuus' (O my soul, dearer to me than the light, your Goscelin is with you . . . your soulmate').³⁰ At his most desperate, Goscelin is in full control neither of his narrative nor himself, and the boundary lines between spiritual love and secular desire are not just blurred, they are

broken down as his desire to guide Eve's spirituality conflicts sharply with his need to express his loss. The guide vivifies his concurrent physical and textual disintegration:

dum scribo, grassans dolor non potuit dissimulari; cecidere manus et usus scriptorii; rugitus et eiulatus inuasit me; corruui coram altari tui Laurentii . . . clamabam frequens in diluuio lacrimarum quasi inter ictus et uerbera Domini . . . et cum eiulatu . . . intonui . . . Similis factus sum pelicano solitudinis . . . Magnis clamoribus infremui . . . Repetens ergo interruptam interrompente luctu loquelam

(as I was writing this, my sorrow swelled up and could not be repressed. My hand and my pen dropped; a moaning and sobbing overcame me. I rushed before the altar of your St Lawrence . . . In a flood of tears, I called out again and again, as if buffeted and beaten by the Lord . . . intoned . . . amidst sobs . . . 'I am made like unto a pelican in the desert' . . . With loud wails . . . Now . . . I take up again my interrupted speech – interrupted by sorrow).³¹

In such instances of linguistic breakdown, it is clear that, as Hollis writes: 'Goscelin's will and God's . . . do not accord'.³² Goscelin's loss may ultimately mean spiritual gain for all concerned, yet this fails to comfort him. Eve's desertion has, he claims, transformed her from his spiritual daughter to the slaughterer of his mother-soul: 'Parricida ei facta es pro filia' ('Instead of her daughter, you are become her parricide').³³

This kind of desperation is not, however, a new feature of their relationship. The guide constructs previous occasions when Goscelin was gripped by a similar frenzy:

caritatis languebant uulnerata precordia . . . Adibam creberrimus tua colloquia . . . Scit tuum plenum sagittis Domini pectus, quos gemitus, quos defectus, quam egras expectationes, quam uacuos dies et noctes, quam inaccessibilem desiderantissime anime caritatem planxerim, ut nonnunquam aduolitans salutifero diuine legationis colloquio, frustratus redierim.

(Wounded with love, my insides continued to smart . . . I frequently visited to talk to you . . . Your own heart, full of the Lord's arrows, knows full well what I suffered, with sighs, disappointments, feverish anticipation, empty days and nights, with the inaccessible love of my most desired soul, when I sometimes came running for the holy conversation that could save me, but left frustrated).³⁴

Yet although Goscelin seems to have found their former interactions a source of torment, he nonetheless desperately wanted them to continue. He is clear: he wishes that Eve had never become a recluse. The guide suggests that Goscelin and Eve have been in combat for some time, but its pages are now the only battleground wherein Goscelin can continue the assault:

sed hoc alibi quam hic et alia cupiebam uia . . . sancte uiueres . . . cenobialis columba, non turtur solitaria, aut, si malles, turtur fieres in patria . . . Vt nos minus desolationem plangeremus, te proxima.

(I wanted this to happen elsewhere . . . and in a different way; I wanted you to live a holy life . . . a coenobitic pigeon, not a solitary mourning dove: or if that was what you preferred, a mourning dove in your own country . . . That we may suffer less desolation, with you near).³⁵

He is not the only guidance writer who cares for his recluse, but he is the only one who feels with such certainty that he has lost personally because of Eve's rejection of the temporal world. This is a battle that Goscelin already knows he has lost, and his sense of failure is evident from the narrative, however much he might try to construct his defeat as God's victory.

Yet, Goscelin's siege begins to shift, and the language of his private sorrow is slowly transformed into more measured professional rhetoric, as he assumes his role as (unwilling) nurturer of Eve's burgeoning eremitical spirituality. He declares, 'in penas desolationis mee hic te plantatam cogor radicare' ('I am forced to plant you and have you take root in the sorrows of my abandonment').³⁶ If Goscelin can persuade Eve to accept him as her anchoritic guidance writer, she remains potentially within his intimate sphere, even if they never meet again. His narrative moves from the fallible and defeated rhetoric of abandoned victim, to the more confident idiom of the guidance writer. In practical terms, he has found a solution to her alleged desertion, one which potentially renews their relationship. All is not lost if he can re-enclose her within the walls of his own writing.

Reading the Liber as professional tool

As a personal letter, the *Liber confortatorius* is a plausibly crafted attempt to reconnect one man with the woman he cannot bear to lose: to remonstrate with her, and to make her see what her anchoritic enclosure has cost those whom she has left behind. Above all, it functions effectively as a means whereby Goscelin can simply renew their (severed) contact. Yet, as an anchoritic guide, the first in a tradition which, as a whole, perpetuates a series of shared vocational ideals and idealized spiritualities, the text is more problematic.

Goscelin's primary focus, certainly for the first two books of his guide, is on Eve's importance to him personally, not on her professional potential. Yet, the sections of his guide that attempt, despite Goscelin's rage at his sudden powerlessness, to safeguard the new vocation of the woman he loves, bespeak a passionate commitment to anchoritism. Moreover, however angry or sorrowful he may be, he always writes with an awareness of Eve's spiritual skill. His admiration for her, albeit at times sensuously expressed, stems from a firm belief in her spiritual proficiency, a belief that her secret departure has not shattered. One thing is very clear: Goscelin trusts Eve, spiritually. No other guidance writer tells his recluse that 'Ipsa Deo sacerdos esto, te ipsam sacrificando, et ignis amoris diuini semper ardeat in altari cordis tui' ('You must be your own priest before God, sacrificing yourself, and the fire of divine love will always burn in your heart').³⁷ He allows her a degree of spiritual latitude not found in any other English anchoritic guide, giving her the freedom to manage her own spiritual development:

Itaque hoc oro, obsecro, et imploro, ut sacrarum uoluminum mensam sanctam auditate et laudabili ingluuie peruadas . . . et quecunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt . . . Hec tibi, si recolis, tanquam clauim *dans* intelligendi . . . uerbis . . . inculcaui.

(Therefore I urge, even implore you that you raid the holy banquet of the sacred volumes with eagerness, with a virtuous sort of gluttony . . . whatever is written is written for our learning . . . This, as you may recall, is something I have always impressed on you, *handing you* the key to understanding).³⁸

Goscelin hands Eve the means to unlock her own theological potential, and to release the floodgates of her own intellect. His professional respect for her is founded on the certainty that she is capable, not only of withstanding the severity of anchoritism's privations, but of converting them to her spiritual advantage. Within the anchorhold, Eve will not just survive, but thrive, all the more so, of course, if she re-submits to the authority of his spiritual guidance.

For the *Liber* carefully recommends a number of anchoritic ideals and spiritual practices, in common with every guide in the English tradition. It explores, as does every anchoritic guide of length, the ideals of enclosure, solitude, chastity and orthodoxy. It negotiates the two spiritual practices upon which the vocation (as it is constructed normatively in the guides) is founded: asceticism and contemplative experience.³⁹ Foreshadowing the perspective of all earlier medieval guidance, Goscelin concludes that anchoritic enclosure is necessitated by humanity's sinfulness. He constructs it, paradoxically, as both blessing and curse. By its very nature, the reclusive relationship with God must be exclusive; therefore it will be exclusionary, and it is its very exclusivity which, Goscelin argues, dictates anchoritic withdrawal. Ideally, therefore, Eve's enclosure will mean she has no further truck with the world. Yet, enclosure cannot, in itself, secure her spiritual success, for solitude is itself always a snare. It carries the potential for secret transgression, which others of holy life have traditionally been unable to resist. To exemplify this, Goscelin uses the disturbing example of St Alexander who, in the privacy of his rural cell, sexually violates a girl brought to him by the Devil as a baby (in order, in fact, to entrap him).⁴⁰ Hayward and Hollis speculate that this tale denotes 'sexual anxiety . . . reflexive of [Goscelin's] . . . guilty conscience' about his own behaviour towards Eve.⁴¹ It is best read, however, as Hayward does elsewhere, as a signifier of wider male sexualized guilt, not specifically of Goscelin's.⁴² It also implies wider eremitic culpability, implicitly drawing Eve into its web. Thus constructed, anchoritism is rendered 'singulare certamen' ('single combat'),⁴³ in which Eve 'uincendum est aut moriendum' ('must either prevail or die').⁴⁴ She does not truly fight alone, however, for her solitude increases not only her vulnerability, but also her support: 'Sola sis cum Domino solitaria. Orando cum Domino loquere, legendo tecum loquentem Dominum attende' ('Be solitary, alone with the Lord. Speak to God in prayers, and in your reading hear God speaking to you').⁴⁵ Her intimacy with God is strengthened to the exact extent that temporal bonds are severed: 'Astat desuper Dominus speculator . . . teque rebellante seuos dentes inimicorum conterit in ore ipsorum hasta crucis sue' ('The Lord stands by watching on high . . . and if he sees you fight he will grind the enemies' savage teeth in their mouths with the lance of his cross').⁴⁶ Her enclosure also enables her to call on the spiritual strength of others in the fight: 'Tali prelustis Ieronimi eruditione, tali carmine psalmodie et lectionis diuine . . . in solitudine . . . conculcato leone et dracone' ('in your solitude, armed with the erudition of the famous Jerome, with the charms of the Psalter and divine reading . . . trample the lion and the dragon').⁴⁷ Eve can stake a claim to a lineage of seclusion which the other early guides also stress: a solitary line boasting John the Baptist and including St Paul, St Mary of Egypt, Moses, Elijah and, of course, Jesus himself.⁴⁸

Yet, every English anchoritic guide, whether early or late, permits a certain, inevitable, level of social interaction and, crucially, casts such activity as acceptable, not transgressive.⁴⁹ The *Liber* makes far freer recommendations than other earlier guides: about Eve's intellectual agency as noted above, but also about her social interaction, anticipating

a pronounced measure of acceptable reclusive sociability. This is particularly noteworthy in the light of *De institutione* and *Ancrene Wisse*'s later, more concerted, efforts to minimize the social interaction of their recluses (although even these guides admit to greater levels of anchoritic sociability than have hitherto been critically conceded). Goscelin goes further, implying that Eve cannot reach her true spiritual potential without the assistance of others. In extensive advice on reading, he declares: 'Ipsa quoque ut possit admittere bibliotecam tam capacem, in longum esse uelim huius celle fenestram, aut per fenestram te legere posse a foris ap(p)ositam. Recita' ('I would like the window of your cell to be wide enough to admit a library of this size, or wide enough that you could read the books through the window if they are propped up for you there from outside. Read aloud').⁵⁰ He prefaces this with the warning, in language which foreshadows that of Aelred and *Ancrene Wisse*: 'Celle, lingue et aurium fenestre a fabulis et uaniloquiis, immo maliloquiis, sint obserate' ('Let the windows of your cell, your tongue and your ears be locked to false tales and idle talk').⁵¹ Yet, his advice betrays none of their anxiety about the highly problematic nature of the cell's windows and doors as boundary lines between the inner and outer worlds. It is impossible, even ludicrous, to imagine other earlier medieval guidance writers advising their recluses to stand in full view of their windows speaking words of spiritual wisdom aloud. Goscelin demonstrates nothing of Aelred's desire to keep his recluse away from them, or of *Ancrene Wisse*'s desire to cover them, to interpret their transgressive potential both literally and symbolically, and to recruit the two anchoritic servants and their recluse into a system of mutual surveillance. Goscelin's chief concern is to maintain Eve's spiritual stamina through her theological edification. To facilitate this, she is encouraged to make continued requests of the world and place herself, literally, in its way.

Goscelin's other visualizations of Eve's social interaction also imply the recluse's post-enclosure status in the world:

te, o dulcissima, hic populus colligit . . . huius piissime matris cunctarumque sororum affectus in te redundant . . . te patrum et pontificum dignitas uisitat . . . hec benedicta domina, que tibi hunc locum parauit, que Christuum secuta, nunc est uerius comitissima, te colit et affectat

(you, my sweetest, are well received by the people there . . . the venerable mother and all the sisters shower you with love . . . dignified fathers and bishops visits [*sic*] you . . . the dear lady loves and cherishes you who prepared this place for you and, as a true follower of Christ, is now a most kind friend to you in a truer way than before).⁵²

Goscelin also openly commends the anchorite who facilitated Eve's removal and enclosure, although it is difficult, in the context of his frequently bitter concurrent expressions of suffering at Eve's departure, to read without irony the declaration: 'cui Dominus uicem pietatis in eterno regno reddat' ('may God repay her in all eternity for her kindness').⁵³ Otter reads these statements as Goscelin's confirmation 'that Eva had a predecessor at Angers who recruited her and introduced her to the anchoritic life', a connection that 'predated the older anchoress's conversion'.⁵⁴ Hollis argues: 'At Angers Eve joined a small community of recluses attached to the church . . . twenty years later – she moved to the church of Saint-Eutrope, where she was joined by her niece Ravenissa'.⁵⁵ This is in significant contrast to earlier medieval guidance's general tendency to condemn continued

links with blood relatives. Yet, Eve's later life knows even greater potential social controversy. Hollis also cites the suggestion of Orléans' commemorative poem that at Saint-Eutrope, Eve shared the solitude of a male recluse, Hervé of Vendôme, an ostensibly chaste male/female spiritual cohabitation that begs comparison with the intimacies which Goscelin alleges that he formerly shared with Eve.⁵⁶ Barbara Newman argues that Eve and Hervé 'cohabited chastely'⁵⁷ and, while such relationships were contentious at this time, Orléans' poem is itself potential proof that they were recognised by some. It may also be possible to view the letter that Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme co-addressed to Eve and Hervé in 1102 as a legitimization of their shared solitude.⁵⁸ Whatever the precise circumstances of Eve's later experiences of solitude, in the *Liber* itself, Goscelin legislates for acceptable levels of interaction between recluses, communications between them and wider religious, and contact with the clergy (i.e. with male guests) – all of which implies the potential of this early medieval recluse to command a measure of post-enclosure public prominence.

Unlike its other earlier medieval counterparts, however, the *Liber*'s advice on enclosure and solitude is distinctly problematic, because it is cast in an uneasy tension with Goscelin's passion for the recluse for whom he writes. The guide itself potentially represents the gravest of threats to Eve's vocational success because of its dominant focus on the textually generative relationship at its heart. Goscelin may tell Eve that she must not dwell on her former life, yet he reminds her of it repeatedly. He declares it his intention to protect Eve against the many vocational dangers that may beset her, yet he seems almost to revel in them and, at times, seeks to inculcate her despair, not to alleviate it. He reminds her again and again of the enormity of her decision to enclose herself, in his constructions of anchoritic enclosure as prolonged living death, asking fiercely:

An hic uicenna etatula in quinquagesimum uel centesimum sedebis annum, in senectam et senium, in finem longeuum et longinquum, in tam longos dies, tam profundas noctes, in tam prolixos labores, tam iuges carceres, tam continuas desolationis mortes?

(From your tender age of twenty, are you going to sit here until your fiftieth or even hundredth year, into old age and decrepitude, into a long drawn-out end, all the long days, the profound nights, the endless labours, the perpetual prison, the continual deaths of desolation?)⁵⁹

He implies, as noted above, that in choosing eremitic enclosure Eve has made a terrible mistake.⁶⁰ He also predicts the psychological damage that the terrible power of anchoritic solitude may inflict upon her: 'caligantibus fidei oculis, solam te relictam trepides, non uidens Dominum presentem' ('when the eyes of your faith darken and you fear that you have been left behind alone, and you do not see God present').⁶¹ He makes the later proviso: 'Proinde hec animaduerte, ne quid subripiant deuotioni tue, ut in pace Christi funderis humilitate' ('Therefore be watchful. Let no one take anything away from your devotion. Firmly ground yourself in the peace of Christ through your humility').⁶² Yet, it is he himself who potentially disrupts that devotion by means of frequent reminders of all that Eve has lost. He may state, 'nec te reuocent uoluptates relictæ' ('do not let the desires you have left behind lure you back'),⁶³ but he also declares: 'dilectioni tue post querelam discessionis commendatum, admissum, susceptum, respice tecum assidentem, *ausculta tecum sermocinantem*' ('readmit me, receive me after the quarrel caused by your going

away. Look at me as I sit with you; *listen to me as I talk to you*').⁶⁴ The force of his language here suggests his determination, not to lure, but to drag Eve back to him. He may suggest that 'Amicitia quique [*sic*] . . . seculi, sicut uana, ita et infida est. Aut pleno pectore fastiditur presens, aut obliuioni datur absens' ('Any friendship . . . of the world, therefore, is as unstable as it is vain. Either – if it is present – it will grow tedious to the saturated heart; or, if absent, it will fall into oblivion').⁶⁵ Yet, his guide seeks to rescue theirs from oblivion, to renew, not repudiate, it. If recalling former friendships will really engender devastation in Eve, and genuinely represents her harshest martyrdom – 'nil te grauius ferre carorum et amicorum elongatione' ('nothing must be harder for you to bear than being so far from your loved ones and friends')⁶⁶ – then why does he, as guidance writer, continue to remind her of them? It is tantamount to *Ancrene Wisse*'s conception of drawing the recluse's heart outwards into the world, one which brings to mind that guide's warning: 'Worltliche leueð lut, religiuse 3et leas' ('Trust seculars little, religious still less').⁶⁷ Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* may well argue, as Goscelin himself reminds us, that 'ad astra doloribus itur' ('the stars are reached by way of suffering').⁶⁸ Yet, his guide implies that Goscelin has mixed motives for seeking to increase Eve's suffering, just as he does for attempting to share her journey to those stars.

Given the enormity of Goscelin's textually constructed attachment to Eve, the reader cannot help but feel that his visualizations of Eve's heartbreak at her anchoritic exile are wishful thinking on his part, as is his detailed prediction of heavenly reunion, which demonstrates a similar mixture of motives. It is not only, or perhaps even chiefly, Eve, that he is thinking of when he concludes that Judgement Day, in contrast to Eve's current anchoritic constraint, will return her to the spaciousness of a transformed Wilton, walled with glass, glittering with precious stones and filled with the saints, notably Edith, whose mystical marriage to Christ will be witnessed there by the faithful, including his mother, Mary, and 'omnesque qui diligunt Dominum cum ea' ('all those who love the Lord with her').⁶⁹ This, of course, is Goscelin's vision, not Eve's. Hollis notes that it offers 'the restoration of all that Eve had left behind'⁷⁰ – of all then, that she had willingly rejected for anchoritism's sake. Hollis finds it surprising that 'Goscelin . . . envisages no place [or eternal reunion] for himself' in his conjectural eternal scheme.⁷¹ He certainly does not take it for granted that he will be saved, asking for Eve's prayers that he may escape damnation. He does not conceal himself in a shadowy corner of his shining new Wilton. Yet, it is no accident that he seeks to return Eve, after death, to the last place in which he claims he had real influence over her in life.⁷² What is more, he expends much of his guide constructing himself, despite his faults, as one of those who has 'loved the lord' like Mary (all of whom he envisages at the new Wilton). The reader is left wondering whether Goscelin embeds himself in his guide's final hope: 'letus merear uidere in beata luce letissimam' ('may I be so happy one day to see you in the blessed light, full of joy').⁷³

Goscelin demonstrates the clear understanding that the memory of former affections can foster feelings of dissatisfaction in the recluse which undermine the conditions of her enclosure. His guide attempts in many ways to safeguard Eve's anchoritism in the face of this. Yet, he cannot stop himself reminding her of their shared past, calling himself to Eve's mind and attempting, in the act of writing, to effect the continuation of the earthly ties that could, according to the very terms of his own text, potentially threaten its reclusive ideology. Goscelin's guide is steeped in the very past which he urges Eve to banish from her mind and judge as worthless in its transience. He does advise Eve not to focus on

‘patria . . . parentes . . . frequentes amici . . . diuersaque mundi formositas’ (‘your homeland . . . your . . . relatives, your close friends . . . the manifold beauties of the world’) but instead to think about the eternal spiritual gains she has made in exchange for temporal losses.⁷⁴ He does encourage her to regard heaven as her true homeland and its inhabitants as her true kin, using, uniquely for the guidance writing tradition, contemporary political examples, including the recent Norman invasion of England, to reinforce his focus upon mankind’s natural exile and migration.⁷⁵ He also holds forth at length about the depth of their former intimacy, Eve’s subsequent faithlessness and his consequent agony, knowing that this may trigger an affective response in her, provoking her guilt, sorrow and a longing both for England and for him. On one level, this might facilitate her acceptance of him as her anchoritic guidance writer. On another level, it is tied to his own scarcely concealed desire to punish her for leaving both him and Wilton. Hollis has rightly called the guide’s reminders of the past ‘a form of martyrdom’.⁷⁶ It is one, however, which is intended to link the martyred Eve to Goscelin, not to God, a mutual martyrdom, not a solitary one. The text attempts to function as the continued expression of the emotional bond that inspired its creation; yet this is a bond which the text, and the vocation it seeks to support, must destroy. Goscelin’s love for Eve ultimately blinds him; it inspires a guide that has the potential to damage the very recluse whose spiritual well-being is ostensibly at the heart of his text and at the centre of his world.

Conclusion

Elizabeth Robertson has usefully suggested that Eve may have been the perfect recluse; casting off her former ties without a word and without a backward glance.⁷⁷ Goscelin’s letter may well have gone astray, or simply never have been sent, but equally, Eve may have refused to receive it, or to continue to read it when she had begun to decipher its dangerous internal conflicts. Nothing of its reception and usage can, at least at present, be proved. The text alone survives; it betrays a tension, which is never fully resolved, between Goscelin’s anchoritic advice and his personal outpouring. Nowhere is this clearer than in the paradoxical final section of Book I, where, having expended much effort on reminding Eve not to dwell on the past, Goscelin does exactly that, at length.⁷⁸ Despite the inclusion in his guide of much useful vocational advice, Goscelin’s frequent recourse to his feelings, and the past they conjure, undermines his narrative. He allows his devotion to destabilize his spiritual direction, even though his guidance of Eve is as important to him as his affection for her and each is cast as the medium for the other.

The *Liber confortatorius* ultimately forces us to think again about what exactly an anchoritic guide is and what exactly an anchoritic guidance writer does. In Goscelin’s hands, the genre becomes far more than one which seeks to direct, shape and perpetuate the vocation. The guidance writer is not simply an altruistic figure, determined to support a vocation of which he approves. Goscelin reveals the potentially insidious forces that are also at work in shaping the English guidance writing tradition. An anchoritic guide in the hands of a former (and continued) devotee of the recluse for whom it was written inevitably fights itself and the vocation it ostensibly seeks to support. Readings of English anchoritism could usefully take into greater account the textual implications of the relationships between guidance writers and their recluses – whether their bond is, as in Goscelin’s case,

textually generative, or whether it is incidental. In terms of the *Liber*, the power of its textually generative bond almost knocks the guide, its writer and, potentially, its recluse, off course. Anchoritic guides usually form part of the matrix of acceptable sociability that surrounds the vocation but, in the case of Goscelin's guide, acceptable sociability bleeds into potential transgression. This does not mean that we need reject the *Liber* as a guide, any more than we need discard its writer as a spiritual thinker whose ideological negotiations of the vocation have no merit. Other guidance writers may be less textually compromised by rage, by love, by naked desire than Goscelin, but their narratives still carry potentially loaded personal significances. Reading the guides as professional tools, through the lens of their personal testimony, potentially complicates our understanding of them, but it is these very complications that render our perceptions of anchoritism all the richer.

Notes

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¹ All vernacular quotations from *Ancrene Wisse* will be from Bella Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 402, with Variants from other Manuscripts*, 2 vols, EETS OS 325, 326 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 2006), vol. I, abbreviated to 'Millett, I and page and line number'. All translations will be taken from Bella Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for Anchoresses: A Translation based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2009), henceforward abbreviated to 'Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide*' and page number'. The Nero text of *Ancrene Wisse* is taken from Mabel Day (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe: Edited from Cotton MS. Nero A.XIV, on the Basis of a Transcript by J. A. Herbert*, EETS OS 225 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), hereafter cited as 'Day, *Ancrene Riwe*, and page number'. Some guides, for example the late medieval *Speculum inclusorum*, reflect generative audiences of male recluses, but this generative group is widened to include women when the guide is later translated into the vernacular. For this guide's original Latin text, see P. Livario Oliger's, 'Speculum inclusorum', *Lateranum*, n.s., 4 (1938), 1–148. For its later vernacular translation, see Marta Powell Harley (ed.), *The Myrour of Recluses* (Madison, NJ and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995).

² Although the study of the *Liber* is rarer than work on the other early medieval guides, publications worthy of note include the recent translation which also features critical essays on the guide's provenance, transmission and meaning by Stephanie Hollis (ed.), with W. R. Barnes, Rebecca Hayward, Kathleen Loncar and Michael Wright, *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber confortatorius*, Medieval Women Texts and Contexts 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004). See also Irene van Rossum, 'Adest meliori parte: a portrait of monastic friendship in exile in Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius*' (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of York, 1999); Gopa Roy, "'Sharpen your mind with the whetstone of books": the female recluse as reader in Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius*, Aelred of Rievaulx's *De institutione inclusarum* and the *Ancrene Wisse*', in Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (eds), *Women, the Book and the Godly: Selected Proceedings*

- of the *St Hilda's Conference 1993* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1995), pp. 113–22; Therese Latzke, 'Robert von Arbrissel, Ermengard und Eva', *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 19 (1984), 116–54 and André Wilmart, 'Eve et Goscelin', *Révue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), 414–38 and 50 (1938), 42–83.
- ³ Stephanie Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', in *Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 217–44 (pp. 236–7). See also Charles Hugh Talbot's manuscript description in his edition of Goscelin's guide, Goscelin of St Bertin, 'The *Liber confortatorius* of Goscelin of Saint Bertin', in Charles Hugh Talbot (ed.), *Studia Anselmiana*, series 3, fasc. 37 (Rome: Pontifical Institute of St Anselm, 1955), pp. 1–117 (pp. 24–5).
 - ⁴ For editions and (where available) translations of all the extant English anchoritic guides, see Ann K. Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1985), Appendix 2, pp. 294–8.
 - ⁵ Hollis, 'Introduction', in *Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 1–13 (p. 2).
 - ⁶ See Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', p. 227.
 - ⁷ Eve became a recluse at twenty-two if 1058 is genuinely the year of her birth. Eve's chronology is offered in Stephanie Hollis, 'Strategies of emplacement and displacement: St Edith and the Wilton community in Goscelin's Legend of Edith and *Liber confortatorius*', in C. A. Lees and G. R. Overing (eds), *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 150–69 (p. 153).
 - ⁸ See Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', p. 232.
 - ⁹ Hollis cites Hilary of Orléans' commemorative poem which hints at Eve's spiritual discomfort within the world of Wilton ('Strategies of emplacement', p. 165). Other critics, such as van Rossum, propose other potential factors, e.g. tensions caused by the Norman political situation in England (see '*Adest meliori parte*', pp. 61–5).
 - ¹⁰ The source of some of the biographical information given here is Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', pp. 217–44. See also Frank Barlow (ed.), *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience 350–1250* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988), pp. 201–4; Linda Olson, 'Did medieval English women read Augustine's *Confessiones*? Constructing feminine interiority and literacy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in Sarah Rees Jones (ed.), *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 69–95; Monika Otter, 'Entrances and exits: performing the psalms in Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius*', *Speculum*, 83, 2 (2008), 283–302.
 - ¹¹ Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', p. 218.
 - ¹² Hollis, 'Introduction', in *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 12.
 - ¹³ Hollis, 'Introduction', in *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 1, and Hollis, 'Strategies of emplacement', p. 153.
 - ¹⁴ Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', pp. 221, 223.
 - ¹⁵ All Latin quotations are from Talbot's edition, referenced by the abbreviation *Liber* and page number. All English translations are from Goscelin of St Bertin, *The Book of Encouragement and Consolation (Liber confortatorius)*, *The Letter of Goscelin to the Recluse Eva*, trans. Monika Otter (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), referenced by the abbreviation *Book* and the page number. This quotation and its translation are at *Liber*, p. 27 and *Book*, p. 21.
 - ¹⁶ Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', p. 237.
 - ¹⁷ *Liber*, p. 27; *Book*, p. 21.
 - ¹⁸ *Ancrene Wisse* widens its readership from the original three sisters that prompted the generation of the text and are referred to in its Nero text (Day, *Ancrene Riwe*, p. 85) to include another generative group, mentioned in its Corpus text as 'þe ancren of Englonð, swa feole togederes twenti nuðe oðer ma' (Millet, I, p. 96, l. 1078) ('the anchoresses of England, in such a large group (twenty now or more)' (Millet (trans.), '*Ancrene Wisse/Guide*', p. 96)). *De institutione inclusarum* has been edited in *Aelredi Rievallensis Opera Omnia: I Opera Ascetica*, in Anselm Hoste and Charles Hugh Talbot (eds), *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, I (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), pp. 635–82. For a translation, see 'A Rule of life for a recluse', in Mary Paul MacPherson

- (trans.), *Aelred of Rievaulx: Treatises and Pastoral Prayer* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Studies Series, 1971), pp. 40–102.
- ¹⁹ *Liber*, p. 19; *Book*, p. 19.
- ²⁰ *Liber*, p. 29; *Book*, p. 26.
- ²¹ For comparative analysis of Goscelin and Aelred's attitudes to anchoritic learning, see Roy, 'Sharpen your mind with the whetstone of books', pp. 113–22.
- ²² *Liber*, p. 81; *Book*, p. 96.
- ²³ *Liber*, p. 26; *Book*, p. 19.
- ²⁴ *Liber*, p. 26; *Book*, p. 20.
- ²⁵ *Liber*, p. 29; *Book*, pp. 25–6. W. R. Barnes and Rebecca Hayward translate 'gremium' not as 'lap' but as 'bosom' (see 'Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius*: Prologue', in *Writing the Wilton Women*, p. 104). It can also mean 'heart' and 'centre'; all terms that denote considerable familiarity.
- ²⁶ *Book*, p. 1.
- ²⁷ Rebecca Hayward, 'Spiritual friendship and gender difference in the *Liber confortatorius*', in *Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 341–55 (p. 352).
- ²⁸ *Liber*, p. 42; *Book*, pp. 43–4.
- ²⁹ *Liber*, p. 34; *Book*, p. 33.
- ³⁰ *Liber*, p. 27; *Book*, p. 21.
- ³¹ *Liber*, p. 27; *Book*, p. 22.
- ³² Hollis, 'Strategies of emplacement', p. 163.
- ³³ *Liber*, p. 30; *Book*, p. 27.
- ³⁴ *Liber*, p. 29; *Book*, p. 25.
- ³⁵ *Liber*, p. 36; *Book*, p. 36.
- ³⁶ *Liber*, p. 36; *Book*, p. 36.
- ³⁷ *Liber*, p. 80; *Book*, p. 95.
- ³⁸ *Liber*, p. 80; *Book*, p. 95; my emphasis.
- ³⁹ For a detailed analysis of these four ideals and two spiritual practices in the context of the spirituality of the whole of the Middle Ages, see Mari Hughes-Edwards, *Reading Medieval Anchoritism: Ideology and Spiritual Practices* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).
- ⁴⁰ *Liber*, pp. 103–6; *Book*, pp. 130–43.
- ⁴¹ Rebecca Hayward and Stephanie Hollis, 'The female reader in the *Liber confortatorius*', *Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 385–400 (p. 397).
- ⁴² Rebecca Hayward, 'Representations of the anchoritic life in Goscelin of Saint-Bertin's *Liber confortatorius*', in Liz Herbert McAvoy and Mari Hughes-Edwards (eds), *Anchorites, Wombs and Tombs: Intersections of Gender and Enclosure in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 54–64 (p. 61).
- ⁴³ *Liber*, p. 49; *Book*, p. 52.
- ⁴⁴ *Liber*, p. 49; *Book*, p. 52.
- ⁴⁵ *Liber*, p. 80; *Book*, p. 95.
- ⁴⁶ *Liber*, p. 49; *Book*, p. 53.
- ⁴⁷ *Liber*, p. 61; *Book*, p. 70.
- ⁴⁸ *Liber*, pp. 75–6; *Book*, p. 89.
- ⁴⁹ See Mari Hughes-Edwards, '"How good it is to be alone"? Sociability, solitude and medieval English anchoritism', *Mystics Quarterly*, 35 (2009), 31–61.
- ⁵⁰ *Liber*, p. 80; *Book*, pp. 95–6.
- ⁵¹ *Liber*, p. 80; *Book*, p. 95.
- ⁵² *Liber*, p. 92; *Book*, p. 113.
- ⁵³ *Liber*, p. 92; *Book*, p. 113.
- ⁵⁴ See *Book*, p. 113, n. 10. Otter here cites Latzke, who identifies 'benedicta domina' as the proper name 'Lady Benedicta', associating her with a recluse of the same name (see 'Robert von Arbrissel', 140).
- ⁵⁵ Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', p. 229 and n. 68.

- ⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 230 and n. 70.
- ⁵⁷ Barbara Newman, 'Liminalities: literate women in the long twelfth century', in Thomas F. X. Noble and John van Engen (eds), *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), pp. 354–402 (p. 359). Accessed via *Academia.edu* at http://www.academia.edu/1466892/Liminalities_Literate_Women_in_the_Long_Twelfth_Century_2012_, accessed 7 September 2011.
- ⁵⁸ On the uneasy relationship of the church with male/female spiritual cohabitation, see Dyan Elliott, 'Alternative intimacies: men, women and spiritual direction in the twelfth century', in Samuel Fanous and Henrietta Leyser (eds), *Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth-century Holy Woman* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 160–83 (pp. 167–8 and pp. 174–5), which evaluates the friendships of Goscelin and Eve and Eve and Hervé in this context.
- ⁵⁹ *Liber*, p. 70; *Book*, p. 82.
- ⁶⁰ For example as at *Liber*, p. 36; *Book*, p. 36, discussed above pp. 35–6.
- ⁶¹ *Liber*, pp. 71–2; *Book*, p. 83.
- ⁶² *Liber*, p. 92; *Book*, p. 114.
- ⁶³ *Liber*, p. 37; *Book*, p. 37.
- ⁶⁴ *Liber*, p. 34; *Book*, p. 33; my emphasis, to underline Goscelin's forceful tone.
- ⁶⁵ *Liber*, p. 40; *Book*, p. 40
- ⁶⁶ *Liber*, p. 42; *Book*, p. 43.
- ⁶⁷ Millet, I, p. 28, l. 308; Millett (trans.), 'Ancrene Wisse/Guide', p. 28.
- ⁶⁸ *Liber*, p. 48; *Book*, p. 51, which cites Prudentius, *Cathemerinon*, 10: 92.
- ⁶⁹ *Liber*, pp. 114–15; *Book*, pp. 147–8. This quotation is at *Liber*, p. 115; *Book*, p. 148.
- ⁷⁰ Hollis, 'Strategies of emplacement', p. 168.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., p. 169.
- ⁷² On this, see Rebecca Hayward and Stephanie Hollis, 'The anchorite's progress: structure and motif in the *Liber confortatorius*', *Writing the Wilton Women*, pp. 369–83 (pp. 378–82).
- ⁷³ *Liber*, p. 117; *Book*, p. 150.
- ⁷⁴ *Liber*, p. 37; *Book*, p. 37.
- ⁷⁵ *Liber*, p. 41; *Book*, p. 42.
- ⁷⁶ Hollis, 'Strategies of emplacement', p. 165.
- ⁷⁷ I am grateful to Professor Robertson for prompting these conclusions in the discussion which followed my delivery of a conference paper entitled: "'I wanted this to happen elsewhere . . . and in a different way": the abandoned rulemaker and the heartless recluse. Betrayal and anchoritic guidance writing?' at the 3rd International Conference of the International Anchoritic Society, Hiroshima Shudo University, Japan (15–17 September 2008).
- ⁷⁸ *Liber*, pp. 40–6; *Book*, pp. 41–9.

Logical Discourse Markers in Julian of Norwich*

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In her *Revelations of Divine Love* (hereafter *Revelations*), Julian of Norwich makes frequent use of the logical connective phrase ‘that is to sey(n)’. ‘That is to say’ is a type of cohesive device proposed by Halliday and Hasan¹ and Julian’s frequent use of the phrase is a clue to understanding her discourse strategies, especially when compared to other uses of the phrase in contemporary texts.

What can we ascertain about the use of this logical adverbial phrase as a discourse marker in Julian’s text? This question pursues the line taken in my previous work, which focused on clause-initial or sentence-initial temporal and locative adverbial phrases based on Virtanen, where I concluded that the types of clause-initial adverbial phrases tend to reflect the genre of the texts.² The same can be said of the phrase ‘that is to sey(n)’.

This article discusses the textual genres connected to the discourse strategies of *Revelations*, taking particular note of Julian’s usage of the logical discourse marker ‘that is to sey(n)’. In the first section, I will examine which texts and genres from the late Middle English period show a similar inclination with regard to the use of this phrase. Following this, I will discuss where and how Julian uses this device in her text and consider the connection forged with other works or other genres. The connection between *Revelations* and other texts may provide further evidence of Julian’s theological knowledge or of her little-known biography.

‘That is to say’ in the Middle English period

The phrase ‘that is to say’ is frequently used in the Middle English period. Its earliest citation in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*) under the headword *say* (v.1) is from the *Lambeth Homilies* (c.1175) and the second earliest citation, which is an example without *to*, is from the *Trinity College Homilies* (c.1200). However, we cannot be certain whether it served as a set phrase at the time of these early examples. A collocation search of *that*, *is* and *say* within two or a few words showed that some pre-1300 matches are not, in fact, early examples of this phrase, but represent cases where it occurs in a later translation of a pre-1300, non-English text incorporating the relevant headword.³ For example, in the first match for the headword *byrthynsak*, the *OED* cites a Latin sentence, which was written around 1177:

?1177 *Assise Regis Willelmi* xiii [earliest MS. *a* 1300], *De Iburþenenseca seu Berthynsak id est de furto vituli vel arietis vel quantum quis supra dorsum suum portare poterit*. 15th c. *transl.* Of byrthynsak þat is to say of þe thyft of a calf or of a ram or how mekil as a man may ber on his bak þar is na court to be haldyn. (*OED*, *byrthynsak*)

The *OED* probably cited this Latin sentence because it gives a definition of the headword *byrthynsak*, and a fifteenth-century English translation is added, which renders *id est* as ‘þat is to say’.

The *OED* citations of the phrase ‘that is to say’ from the Middle English period mainly consist of homilies, works by Chaucer and some instructional texts such as *The Rule of St. Benet* and the *Book of St. Albans*. The citations in the *Middle English Dictionary* (hereafter *MED*) for this adverbial phrase indicate a similar tendency, for example from religious works such as Walter Hilton’s *The Scale of Perfection*. The result of a quotation search in the *MED* using a simple proximity search for *that*, *is* and *say* offers over three hundred matches for variations of this phrase, and for *that*, *is* and *sey* there are over six hundred. There are several variations in the forms such as ‘that is (for) to say[-e, -ing]’, ‘that is (for) to sey[-e, -n, -en]’ and ‘that is at say[-e, -ing]’. As the *OED* states, the *to*-infinitive in this phrase (i.e. *to say*) was a gerundial infinitive in Old English and *to* was followed by the dative form of a gerund. In short, *to* functioned as a preposition. This supports the widely accepted etymology of this phrase: that it is the literal translation of the Old French (hereafter OF) *c’est à dire*.⁴ Therefore, with regard to the variation of ‘that is at say[-e, -ing]’, it is quite likely that a translator rendered *à* into *at*.

The quotation search in the *MED* also found many examples from religious works such as Richard Rolle’s *English Psalter and Commentary* and *Mending of Life* and Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. Two examples from *Revelations* also appear, but oddly they are not citations for ‘that is to say’ but rather for *noughten* (v.) and *sparren* (v. (1)). One would have expected these quotes from *Revelations* to be cited under the heading of the phrase ‘that is to say’ because Julian often uses that phrase.

The phrase ‘that is to say’ was also examined in works of the Middle English period included in *Literature Online* (248 entries, c.1350–1500).⁵ This search offered eighty hits in forty-three poetry entries, five hits in three drama entries and 242 hits in one prose entry. This one prose entry is *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (1894–7), edited by W. W. Skeat. From the result of this search, we see that Chaucer, Julian’s contemporary, is very fond of using this phrase. He rarely uses it in verse, though a similar phrase, ‘this is to seyn’, sometimes appears in his poetry. Therefore, we may conclude that the phrase ‘that is to seyn’ is a prose-style expression particularly in Chaucer. Most of the matches in his prose, 179 occurrences, are from his translation of *Boece*, twenty-nine are from *The Parson’s Tale*, seventeen are from *A Treatise on the Astrolabe* and seventeen are from *The Tale of Melibee*.

An examination of Chaucer’s use of the phrase ‘that is to seyn’ in *Boece*, the text in which it is found most frequently, yields interesting results. When one hears that this phrase is a literal translation of the OF *c’est à dire*, at first one would expect that Chaucer had simply rendered the corresponding Latin or French phrase as ‘that is to seyn’. But, in fact, immediately after that phrase, Chaucer adds an interpretation to a directly translated phrase from Latin. Some quotations taken from the original Latin text of *Boece* are shown below, along with the corresponding quotations from Chaucer:

- (1) Mors hominum felix quae se nec dulcibus annis
 Inserit et maestis saepe uocata uenit.
 Eheu quam surda miseros auertitur aure
 Et flentes oculos claudere saeua negat.
 Dum leuibus male fida bonis fortuna faueret,
 Paene caput tristis merserat hora meum.⁶
- (1') Thilke deth of men is weleful that ne comyth noght in yeeris that ben swete, but cometh to wrecches often yclepid. Allas, allas! With how deef an ere deth, cruwel, turneth away fro wrecches and nayteth to closen wepyng eien. Whil Fortune, unfeithful, favourede me with lyghte goodes, the sorwful houre (*that is to seyn, the deth*) hadde almoost dreynt myn heved.⁷
- (2) Postremo aequo animo toleres oportet quidquid intra fortunae aream geritur, cum semel iugo eius colla submiseris.⁸
- (2') Thus, at the laste, it byhoveth the to suffren wyth evene wil in pacience al that is doon inwith the floor of Fortune (that is to seyn, in this world), syn thou hast oonys put thy nekke undir the yok of hir.⁹

As shown here, Chaucer often uses this adverbial phrase as a discourse marker at points where he adds interpretations to metaphorical phrases such as 'the sorwful houre' and 'the floor of Fortune'. These interpretations often follow the glosses by Trivet (Trevet) and Guillaume, whose glosses Chaucer is said to have referred to.¹⁰ Chaucer also uses other phrases with the same function, such as 'as who so myghte seyn' and 'as who seith', though his most common expression is 'that is to seyn'. There also seem to be rare cases where the phrase 'that is to seyn' is used in the translation of the original Latin text:

- (3) Itaque nihil est quod admirare, si in hoc uitae salo circumflantibus agitemur procellis, quibus hoc maxime propositum est pessimis displicere.¹¹
- (3') And forthi thou oughtest noght to wondren thoughe that I, in the byttere see of this lif, be fordryven with tempestes blowynge aboute, in the whiche this is my moste purpoos, that is to seyn to displeasen to wikkide men.¹²

From the observation of the use of 'that is to seyn' in *Boece*, it is obvious that its frequent occurrence is because this text is a translation. In translations, the translator is sometimes concerned that the reader might not be familiar with figurative expressions from the original languages, or that a referential or anteroposterior relation is not clear for the reader due to the differences between the original language and the language of the translation, that is, Latin and English in *Boece*. In such cases, the translator may insert a paraphrase, guided by the phrase 'that is to seyn' after the literal translation.

The reason for the frequent occurrence of this phrase in *Astrolabe*, despite its rather short length, would be partly the same because Chaucer seems to have edited it based on Latin treatises. It is also a scientific and instructional text, and therefore technical terms are often used. It is natural that Chaucer is concerned about whether his son can understand

those terms and adds an explanation of them. In the following quotation, Chaucer is defining the term ‘the orizonte’ in two ways:

- (4) And the netherist cercle, or the firste cercle, is clepid the orizonte, that is to seyn, the cercle that divideth the two emysperies, that is, tha partie of the hevene above the erthe and the partie byneth.¹³

Some of the other works cited in the *MED* for this phrase are, like the *Astrolabe*, instructional texts: for example, citations from cookery recipes in London, British Library MS Additional 46919, *The Equatorie of the Planetis*, and an English translation of *Secretum Secretorum*.

Chaucer also frequently uses the phrase ‘that is to seyn’ in *The Parson’s Tale*. This is relevant because *The Parson’s Tale* is written in the style of a sermon; similarly, a number of the citations from Middle English in the dictionaries are from homilies and religious exempla, such as the *Lambeth Homilies*, the *Trinity College Homilies* and *The Rules of St. Benet* in the *OED* and the *Ayenbite of Inwyrt* and the *Lives of Saints* in the *MED*. In sermons, the preacher should make what he is talking about easy to understand for the audience. Therefore, paraphrases introduced by phrases such as ‘that is to seyn’ appear throughout the sermon:

- (5) In this Penitence or Contricioun man shal understonde foure thynges; that is to seyn, what is Contricioun, and whiche been the causes that moeven a man to Contricioun, and how he sholde be contrit, and what Contricioun availleth to the soule.
- (6) Now been ther generale signes of gentillesse, as eschewynge of vice and ribaudye and servage of synne, in word, in werk, and contenance, / and usynge vertu, curteisye, and clenness, and to be liberal – that is to seyn, large by mesure, for thilke that passeth mesure is folie and synne.¹⁴

It is also common for sermonizers to quote the words of saints and give their interpretation of them. Sometimes quotations can be made in Latin.

- (7) For as seith Salomon, ‘The amyable tonge is the tree of lyf’ – that is to seyn, of lyf espiritueel – and soothly, a deslaved tonge sleeth the spirites of hym that repreveþ and eek of hym that is repreved.
- (8) Looke eek what Seint Peter seith, *Actuum quarto, Non est aliud nomen sub celo, etc.*, ‘Ther nys noon oother name,’ seith Seint Peter, ‘under hevene yeven to men, in which they mowe be saved’; that is to seyn, but the name of Jhesu Crist.¹⁵

The phrase ‘that is to seyn’ added to the Latin quotation from Saint Peter serves the same function as the identical phrase used in translations such as in *Boece*. Even when the quotations are given in English as is seen in quotations (7) and (8), some of them are paraphrased following the ‘that is to seyn’ phrase, because the audience might not be familiar with the biblical expressions. Excerpt (9) below is a quotation from Jeremiah 6: 16 and (10) is from Psalm 32: 5:

- (9) ‘Stondeth upon the weyes, and seeth and axeth of olde pathes (that is to seyn, of olde sentences) which is the goode wey, / and walketh in that wey, and ye shal fynde refresshyng for youre soules, etc.’
- (10) of which that David seith, ‘I seye,’ quod David (that is to seyn, I purposed fermely) ‘to shryve me, and thow, Lord, relestedest my synne.’¹⁶

Even though these quotations from biblical prophets (or saints) are given in English, the function of ‘that is to seyn’ might still have been similar to that in translations because the original biblical phrases in Latin were translated into English literally. Some of the passages from the Bible would have been less familiar to the lay people so that it may have been difficult for them to infer the meaning (or correct interpretation) from a literal translation.

The Tale of Melibee, which is a moral story, is similar to *The Parson’s Tale* regarding the use of ‘that is to seyn’. Melibee and his wife Prudence speak in a coherent and logical manner and they often refer to proverbs or words quoted from ancient philosophers and from saints. This similarity seems to have led to the frequent use of ‘that is to seyn’ or ‘this is to seyn’ as in the following two examples:

- (11) For Jhesus Syrak seith that ‘musik in wepyng is a noyous thyng’; this is to seyn: as muche availleth to speken bifore folk to which his speche anyeth as it is to synge biforn hym that wepeth.
- (12) for certes, the three enemys of mankynde – that is to seyn, the flesh, the feend, and the world¹⁷

Both tales are considered to be translations by Chaucer,¹⁸ but this would not be the major factor in explaining the frequent use of the phrase ‘that is to seyn’ because it does not offer an alternative translation in these tales as was seen in *Boece*. Rather, the phrase is used to clarify philosophical or theological concepts for the reader.

A close examination of Chaucer’s use of the phrase ‘that is to seyn’ has shown that the phrase is most often used to explain the obscurity of the passages which it follows. Further, we noticed that a philosophical and instructional character was common among the texts from the late fourteenth century in which this phrase frequently occurs. Both the instructional characteristics of the genres in which the phrase is found and the close attention to audience are significant in examining the use of the phrase in Julian of Norwich’s writing.

‘That is to sey(n)’ in Revelations

In this section, we will examine how Julian uses this type of phrase in her *Revelations*, bearing in mind that the phrase ‘that is to say’ is often used in genres such as philosophical treatises, homilies and instructional texts, as we have just observed. There are several variations of this phrase in Middle English, such as ‘that is to mene(n)’, ‘that is to understande(n)’ and ‘that is to wite(n)’, but Julian almost exclusively uses ‘that is to sey(n)’.

We encounter ‘that is to mene(n)’ only a few times and the shorter form ‘that is’ several times in this text.

In the following quotation, ‘that is to sey’ is used with another of Julian’s textual strategies, enumeration:

- (13) All this was shewid by thre: that is to sey, be bodily sight and by word formyd in my understanding and be gostly sight.¹⁹

Here, using this phrase ‘that is to sey’, Julian introduces to us a concrete explanation of how this revelation was shown to her. She often gives concrete descriptions of the revelations or of the interpretation of the revelations by enumeration:

- (14) For the iii, by the grace of God and teachyng of holy church, I conceived a mighty desire to receive iii wounds in my life: that is to sey the wound of very contrition, the wound of kinde compassion and the wound of willfull longyng to God.²⁰

The number of items listed is often three, likely related to the Holy Trinity.²¹ This is not, however, always the case, as in the following example:

- (15) I saw iiij maner of dryengs: the first was blodeless; the secund was payne folowyng after; the thred, hangyng up in the eyr as men hang a cloth to drye; the forth, that the bodily kynd asky[d] licour and ther was no maner of comfort mynystid to hym in al his wo and disese.²²

Julian is fond of this type of enumeration. The subjects in the subsequent clauses (e.g. ‘the first’ and ‘the second’) have the same function as enumerative connectives such as firstly and secondly.

As has been seen in examples (13) and (14), Julian often uses the phrase ‘that is to sey(n)’ with enumeration when introducing more concrete descriptions of an aforementioned term. This combined application of enumeration and rephrasing is also found in sermons and religious or moralistic stories, as can be seen in quotations (5) from *The Parson’s Tale* and (12) from *The Tale of Melibee* (above). The following quotation provides another example of the parallel use of enumeration and rephrasing from *The Parson’s Tale*:

- (16) Now hath malice two spes; that is to seyn, hardnesse of herte in wikkednesse, or elles the flessch of man is so blynd that he considereth nat that he is in synne or rekketh nat that he is in synne, which is the hardnesse of the devel.²³

Julian’s rephrasing sometimes seems to be theological, not only where this phrase is directly connected to enumeration, but also in other places. For example:

- (17) In this nakid word ‘synne’ our lord browte to my mynd generally al that is not good, and the shamfull dispite and the utter nowtyng that he bare for us in this life, and his dyeng, and al the peynys and passions of al his creatures, gostly and bodily – for we be all in party nowtid, and we shall be nowtid followyng our master Iesus till we be full purgyd: that is to sey, till we be fully nowtid of our dedly flesh and of al our inward affections which arn not very good –

- (18) And thus I vnderstond that mannys soule is made of nought, that is to sey, it is made, but of nought that is made,
- (19) For the thred, that we knowen the frute and the end of our prayers: that is, to be onyd and lyk to our lord in althyng.²⁴

In quotation (17), Julian gives a theological definition of the word *purge*. In quotation (18), the phrase ‘that is to sey’ divides the preceding single-clause expression, ‘mannys soule is made of nought’, into two clauses. Both the fact that man’s soul was made and from what it is made are theologically important. In quotation (19), where a shorter form of ‘that is to seyn’ is used, she explains that the end of our prayer is to be united with Christ.

Julian’s rephrasing by using clauses or phrases introduced by ‘that is to sey(n)’ reminds us of her target readers, her ‘even-Christians’, and her care to make her writing clear to them. Another example of this is how she sometimes uses the phrase ‘that is to sey(n)’ where she explains an aforementioned phrase in simple words:

- (20) This reverens that I mene is a holy, curtes drede of our lord, to which mekeness is knitt: and that is, that a creture seith the lord marvelous grete, and the selfe marvelous litil;²⁵

In this quotation, Julian explains what the theological concept and practical expression of real reverence toward God is, in a more understandable way. This same strategy of rephrasing an aforesaid phrase in simple words is sometimes used in *The Parson’s Tale*, as has been shown in quotations (9) and (10) in the previous section. In the following quotation from *The Parson’s Tale*, the phrase ‘that is to seyn’ performs a similar function to ‘that is to sey’ in (18) and ‘that is’ in (19) from *Revelations*:

- (21) For certes, in the werkyng of the deedly synne, ther is no trust to no good werk that we han doon biforn; that is to seyn, as for to have therby the lyf perdurable in hevene.²⁶

Here, the phrase ‘that is to seyn’ introduces a paraphrase which denotes the seriousness of committing the deadly sin. As has been shown in quotations from *Revelations* above, a paraphrase introduced by this type of logical marker sometimes demonstrates the theological significance of the aforementioned acts or concepts.

From this comparison between the excerpts with the phrase ‘that is to sey(n)’ from *Revelations* and those from *The Parson’s Tale*, we recognize how strikingly similar Julian’s style of writing is to the style of sermons in the use of logical discourse strategies. The conclusion that the writing style of *Revelations* is similar to that of homilies in giving clear interpretation of something obscure and difficult to understand is also supported by other types of her usage of ‘that is to sey(n)’. Significantly, this phrase also appears where she gives her interpretation of words she received from Christ:

- (22) And so ment he in this blissid word wher that he seid ‘I it am that holy church prechith the and techith the’; that is to sey: ‘All the helth and lif of sacraments, al the vertue and grace of my word, all the godness that is ordeynid in holy church for the, I it am.’²⁷

As can be seen in this quotation, Julian sometimes describes her interpretation of Christ's words in direct speech. This is an eye-catching feature in her text, but she does not always use the phrase 'that is to sey(n)' before this type of direct speech. The more outstanding expression that she uses to mediate between the original direct speech and her interpretation of it is 'as if he had said'. Thus, in quotation (22), the 'that is to sey' phrase can be said to serve the same function as the 'as if he had said' phrase. This use of 'that is to sey(n)' is highly reminiscent of Wendeatt's suggestion that there are some resemblances between the *Revelations* and dream poems such as *Piers Plowman*.²⁸ The resemblances arise from the authors' shared motive in writing to offer an interpretation of what they saw.²⁹ Such uses of discourse markers as 'that is to sey(n)' and 'as if he had said' demonstrate the importance of the authors' motives of interpreting the often indescribable nature of what is shown in revelations for an audience who has not seen and must be shown in words.

So far, we have seen Julian introduce an almost equivalent rephrasing with the phrase 'that is to sey(n)', but, as the *OED* points out, sometimes this phrase limits the meaning of the preceding phrase or clause.³⁰ For example:

(23) and he will we desire to wetyn, that is to sey, as it longyth to his creature to wetyn it;

(24) Also I had in this more vnderstandyng: in that he shewid me that I should synne, I toke it nakidly to myne owne singular person, for I was none otherwise stirrid at that time; but be the hey, gracious comfort of our lord that followid after, I saw that his menyng was for the general man, that is to sey, all man which is synfull and shall ben into the last day;³¹

In these quotations, we see Julian's concern not to lead the reader to any misunderstanding of the matters under discussion.

In every quotation we have examined so far, we see that Julian is developing a highly logical, philosophical and carefully constructed argument. The next quotation is an interesting example, in which this phrase is used in deductive logic with a syllogism:

(25) And I saw no difference atwix God and our substance, but as it were al God, and yet myn vnderstandyng toke that our substance is in God: that is to sey, that God is God, and our substance is a cature in God;³²

In the history of the study of her text, Julian's literacy or knowledge of Latin has sometimes been questioned, but her way of developing arguments, as has been shown above, demonstrates that her writing is highly logical and that she had abundant knowledge of theological philosophy in contrast with the modest attitude expressed by her well-known self-deprecatory statement. As Kathryn Kerby-Fulton points out, soon after her self-deprecatory phrase in the Short Text, Julian convinces the reader that it is legitimate for her to write about the revelations she received:³³

(26) Botte god forbode that 3e schulde saye or take it so that I am a techere, for I meene nougt soo, no I mente nevere so. For I am a woman, leued, febille, & freyllle. Botte I wate wele this that I saye. I hafe it of the schewyng of hym tha[t] es souerayne techare. Botte

sothelye charyte styrris me to telle 3owe it, for I wolde god ware knawen & myn evyn-cristene spede, as I wolde be myselfe, to the mare hatynge of synne & lovyng of god.

Botte for I am a woman, schulde I therfore leve that I schulde nouȝt telle 3owe the goodenes of god, syne that I sawe in that same tyme that [it] is his wille that it be knawen? And that schalle 3e welle see in the same matere that folowes aftyr, [if] itte be welle and trewlye takyn. Thane schalle 3e sone forgette me that am a wrecche, and dose so that I lette 3owe nought, & behalde Ihesu that ys techare of alle. I speke of thame that schalle be safe, for in this tyme god schewyd me no nothere. Bot in alle thyng I lyeve as haly kyrke techis, for in alle this blyssede schewynge of oure lorde I behelde it as ane in god syght, and I vndyrstode neuer nathynge þereyn that stonez me ne lettes me of the trewe techynge of halye kyrke.³⁴

From this passage, Kerby-Fulton concludes that Julian was well informed about the controversy over female teaching and that she even knew the arguments which supported it. Kerby-Fulton's finding is most noteworthy because Julian's self-legitimacy, as manifested in this passage where she tells her fellow Christians that it is a charity to write this, and that no part of it contradicts the teaching of the Holy Church, is consistent with our observation of the similarity between sermons and *Revelations* in the usage of logical discourse markers. Their similarity in the usage of the logical discourse marker 'that is to say' illustrates Julian's familiarity with the style of homilies or sermons.

Conclusion

Focusing on logical discourse markers, this article has demonstrated that Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* has a common link with authoritative philosophical works such as religious homilies, moral stories and instructional texts in its frequent use of the phrase 'that is to say'. Also, since there are some resemblances between dream poems and *Revelations*, as Windeatt has stated, Julian's use of this phrase is likely to be connected to her motives for interpreting the divine revelations she received.³⁵ As has been shown in quotations (1') and (2') from Chaucer, this phrase is often used to give an interpretation to what is previously mentioned in other words. Considering that giving a correct interpretation to the revelations was the greatest motive for Julian's writing this work, the use of the phrase 'that is to sey(n)' can be regarded as a reflection of this motive. Elsewhere I have pointed out that the same motive lies behind Julian's frequent use of the impersonal *think*.³⁶ However, to discuss clear connections between *Revelations* and all the other genres, including dream poets, in their use of these logical discourse markers is beyond the scope of this short study.

In view of the absence of a full investigation of comparable texts, this is admittedly just a pilot study, pointing towards the need for a closer examination of the uses of this phrase in homilies, other religious treatises and instructional texts. At least, however, the examples surveyed in this article reveal that the same phrase is used with conspicuous frequency in these genres, showing that there are some connections between them and *Revelations*. This gives a glimpse of the way the author of *Revelations* constructed her text using such logical discourse markers.

Further, the way in which Julian uses logical discourse markers suggests that her own reading or training was more extensive than has often been supposed. While we sometimes

encounter phrases in which she shows a very humble attitude, or a type of self-deprecation, her text has a highly logical style of writing using enumeration or rephrasing introduced by the logical discourse markers that this article has considered. As far as the style introduced by those logical discourse markers is concerned, her text is every bit as sophisticated as those written by her male contemporaries. This would indicate that Julian was familiar with religious prose such as sermons written by ecclesiastic scholars.

From this observation, we can conclude that Julian constructed her philosophical text in a sophisticated manner, while at the same time expressing a humble and meek attitude:

- (27) And ever the more likyng and ioy that we taken in this sekirness with reverens and mekenes, the better likyth him, as it was shewid.³⁷

In other words, while keeping a logical style common to the religiously authoritative texts of her contemporary, Julian still makes her text accessible to her target readers, her ‘even Christians’. The combination of her logical style and self-deprecating statements in her text reflects her double focus on the reader and on orthodoxy.

Notes

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¹ M. A. K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan, *Cohesion in English* (London: Longman, 1976), pp. 244–50.

² Tuija Virtanen, “‘Then I saw to antique heddes’: discourse strategies in early modern English travelogues”, in Andreas H. Jucker (ed.), *Historical Pragmatics: Pragmatic Developments in the History of English* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), pp. 499–513. See Fumiko Yoshikawa, ‘Discourse strategies in late Middle English women’s mystical writing’, in M. Amano, M. Ogura and M. Ohkado (eds), *Historical Englishes in Varieties of Texts and Contexts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 233–44.

³ The search was conducted using the advanced search of the quotations in the *OED* online, and the result was sorted in the order of quotation date.

⁴ See Toshio Nakao, *Eigo-shi II [History of English II], Eigogaku-taikei* [Outline of English Linguistics], 9 (Tokyo: Taishukan, 1972), p. 283. The *OED* also refers to the French *c’est-à-dire*.

⁵ The search was conducted by combinations of *that*, *is* or *iss*, *to* and various forms of *seien* (*sai**, *say**, *sei**, *sey**) on 6 September 2008.

⁶ *Philosophiae Consolationis*, Liber I, Metrum I LL. 13–18. The excerpts from *Philosophiae Consolationis* are drawn from H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand (eds), *Boethius, the Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy*, with the English translation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918).

- ⁷ Boece, Book I, Metrum 1, ll. 18–26. All quotations from Chaucer are drawn from Larry D. Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer* (3rd edn; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987).
- ⁸ *Philosophiae Consolationis*, Liber II, Prosa I LL. 50–1.
- ⁹ Boece, Book II, Prosa I, ll. 91–5
- ¹⁰ *The Riverside Chaucer* usually italicizes paraphrases led by ‘that is to seyn’ and puts parentheses around them. Alastair J. Minnis shows that the interpretation of the phrase ‘the sorrowful houre’ (p. 95) in quotation (1’) follows Trivet: see ‘Chaucer’s commentator: Nicholas Trevet and the Boece’, in Alastair J. Minnis (ed.), *Chaucer’s Boece and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1993), pp. 83–166. The explanatory note for Book II, Prosa 1, l. 93 in *The Riverside Chaucer* shows that ‘the floor of Fortune’ in quotation (2’) corresponds to both Trivet’s and Guillaume’s glosses.
- ¹¹ *Philosophiae Consolationis*, Liber I, Prosa III LL. 37–9.
- ¹² Boece, Book I, Prosa III, ll. 63–7.
- ¹³ *Astrolabe*, Part I, 18.6–10.
- ¹⁴ *The Parson’s Tale*, ll. 128, 464–5.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., ll. 629, 597.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., ll. 77–8, 309.
- ¹⁷ *The Tale of Melibee*, ll. 1045, 1421.
- ¹⁸ See Benson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. 17.
- ¹⁹ Long Text of *Revelations* (hereafter LT), ch. 9, p. 11, ll. 2–4. All the excerpts from the Long Text of *Revelations* are drawn from *Julian of Norwich: A Revelation of Love*, ed. Marion Glasscoe (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1976).
- ²⁰ LT, ch. 2, p. 3, ll. 3–7.
- ²¹ See Nicholas Watson, ‘The Trinitarian hermeneutic in Julian of Norwich’s *Revelation of Divine Love*’, in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium V: Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1992* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992), pp. 79–100.
- ²² LT, ch. 17, p. 19, l. 40–p. 20, l. 1.
- ²³ *The Parson’s Tale*, l. 486.
- ²⁴ LT, ch. 27, p. 29, ll. 1–8; ch. 53, p. 64, ll. 17–19; ch. 42, p. 44, ll. 11–13.
- ²⁵ Ibid., ch. 65, p. 80, ll. 14–17.
- ²⁶ *The Parson’s Tale*, l. 240.
- ²⁷ LT, ch. 60, p. 73, ll. 36–40.
- ²⁸ Barry A. Windeatt, ‘The art of mystical loving: Julian of Norwich’, in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Papers Read at the Exeter Symposium, July 1980* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1980), pp. 55–71 (p. 57).
- ²⁹ See also Fumiko Yoshikawa, ‘Julian of Norwich and the rhetoric of the impersonal’, in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *Rhetoric of the Anchorhold: Place, Space and Body within the Discourse of Enclosure* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), pp. 141–54.
- ³⁰ The *OED* defines the phrase ‘that is to say’ as ‘used to introduce a more explicit or intelligible re-statement of what immediately precedes, or a limiting clause necessary to make the statement correct’.
- ³¹ LT, ch. 46, p. 49, ll. 27–8; ch. 79, p. 95, l. 39–p. 96, l. 1.
- ³² Ibid., ch. 54, p. 65, ll. 19–22.
- ³³ See Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 301–2.
- ³⁴ ST, ch. VI, p. 47, l. 34–p. 48, l. 20. This quotation from the Short Text is drawn from Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love, The Shorter Version*, ed. from B.L. Add. MS 37790, ed. Frances Beer, Middle English Texts (Heidelberg: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, 1978).
- ³⁵ Windeatt, ‘The art of mystical loving’, p. 57.
- ³⁶ Yoshikawa, ‘Julian of Norwich and the rhetoric of the impersonal’, pp. 145–6.
- ³⁷ (LT, ch. 65, p. 80, ll. 12–14).

II

Enclosure and Sanctity in Hagiographical Tradition

Heresy and Heterodoxy: The Feminized Trinities of Marguerite Porete and Julian of Norwich*

JANE CHANCE

Through the analogy of ‘Jesus as Mother’, Caroline Walker Bynum alerted scholars early on to the possibility of a humanized, even feminized, Christ in the Middle Ages.¹ This feminization of Christ as the second person of the Trinity reflected a radical change in its traditional concept, largely because of his dual nature as both human and divine: though the son of God, he was born of a human mother. At issue is whether women are included in the theological concept of humanity and, therefore, considered spiritually equal to men, given the difference in the accounts of their original creations. To explain how this issue was understood in the Middle Ages, E. Ann Matter, basing her argument on Augustine of Hippo’s *De Trinitate* (On the Trinity), indicates that because man was created before woman, and woman from man’s rib,

women, therefore, are spiritually equal to men only in their creation as human beings. In terms of the Genesis myth of Creation, this would be understood as existing in the time before the separation of the woman from Adam’s rib. Women lose the image of God specifically in those physical attributes that make them women. The physical origin of the spiritual inferiority of women is counterbalanced, as it were, by the reassurance that women are equal to men in basic humanity, as opposed to female physicality, and will stand equally before God at the resurrection of the body.²

That some medieval women mystics feminized Jesus as Mother, or rather, viewed Christ as identifiable by means of a female body conventionally associated with his mother Mary, is not just to emphasize his ‘basic humanity’ but also, women’s, predicated upon Matter’s ‘female physicality’.

While other scholars have extended Bynum’s work on the feminized second person of the Trinity – notably, Barbara Newman, in the androgynous WomanChrist³ – they have not generally explored the physical implications of the feminization of Christ, or of other persons of the Trinity. In relation to the latter, at least one precedent appears as early as the twelfth-century German abbess Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), who magnifies the role of the third person, the Holy Ghost, as the agent of God who constructs Creation and shapes Adam and Eve. Hildegard uses this creative force, as Newman and Peter

Dronke have argued, to represent both a material and spiritual regenerative cosmic vitality: the life force, fertility and material renewal, as well as virginity, the saints and the fruitfulness of earth.⁴ And through God's agency, Hildegard demonstrates the essential and substantial equality of origin for both Adam and Eve while also giving a nod to their symbolic difference of origin, respectively, in his 'divinity' and 'humanity': if Adam is identified as the divinity of the Son and Eve as Adam's humanity, then Christ as born from the Virgin does indeed have a feminine as well as human, if not physically feminine, component.⁵

A feminization of the Trinity does appear in a more 'physically human' form in the writings of two later medieval visionaries: the Flemish beguine Marguerite Porete of Hainaut (1250?–1310), accused of heresy and burned at the stake, and the English anchoress Julian of Norwich (c.1342–post 1416).⁶ Alone among all other Continental mystics, Marguerite offers a theology closest to what Newman has more recently termed Julian's 'radically speculative approach to mystical theology'.⁷ Although Newman does not specify to which concepts in Marguerite's work this approach to Julian applies, I argue that, especially in the shorter, earlier version of her revelations (the Short Text), Julian's physical feminization of the persons of the Trinity – through Jesus's humanity and her concomitant annihilation of original sin – strongly relates to Marguerite's. In Julian's Short Text it is the divine status of Mary as mother of Jesus that allows her to apotheosize into the second person of the Trinity, whereas divinity for Marguerite, as a spark in humanity, allows the annihilated soul (for example, Mary Magdalene) to 'plant' her will in God. Either way, it is a woman's 'physical humanity' that allows for her divinity, and with it, as we shall see, an erasure or relaxation of original sin.

Specifically, Marguerite constructs a feminized and physically human Trinity in her autobiographical romance and mystical tract, *Mirouer des Simples Ames Anienties et qui seulement demourent en vouloir et desir d'amour* (The Mirror of Simple Annihilated Souls and Those Who Only Remain in Will and Desire of Love), in which she presents God as Verité (Truth, gendered feminine); the Holy Ghost as Dame Amour (Lady Love); and the Son as Wisdom, although it is Lady Love who for the most part speaks for all three during her debate with Raison (Reason) in the presence of Ame (the Soul). This feminization of God allows Marguerite to project into the Trinity what she calls the 'encumbrance' of herself – her body, her willfulness or 'creatureliness'.⁸ Similarly, to avoid the dualism of the more conventional Trinity, Julian establishes a Trinity that depends upon a specifically female humanity for its embodiment, or what might be termed its 'enclosure', in the figures of both Jesus's mother, Mary, and Mary Magdalene. Julian mirrors Marguerite's concept of the body as divine by means of the feminized equivalence of Christ's Passion: the anchoress's own shedding of blood during a near-death illness that catalyzes her visions. For both visionaries, the consequence of embracing the body's 'encumbrance' as the soul's 'clothing' removes or lessens the error of original sin. We will first examine the origin of these two works and the nature of their reception (and revision, in the case of Julian), and then turn to their related but different feminizations of the Trinity and their impact on the visionaries' erasure of original sin.

*Extant manuscripts of the visionary works
and the priority of Julian's Short Text*

In 1310, an investigatory commission of twenty-one canon lawyers, theological regents of the University of Paris, and Marguerite's Dominican inquisitor, William Hulbert of Paris, condemned as heretical fifteen excerpted articles from Marguerite's book (although she remained appropriately silent throughout these proceedings that led to her own 'annihilation'). Chiefly reprehensible among these articles were two: in the first article, the Soul needs neither virtues nor consolation because the virtues obey the Soul (instead of the Soul obeying the virtues), and in the fifteenth, the Soul does not need God's gifts or consolation because the Soul directly confronts God himself, instead of being represented by intermediaries. As a result of the first, the *Mirouer* repudiates the corporal presence of original sin and its manifestations, that is, bodily temptations; as a result of the second, because the Soul can unite with God while on earth, the Soul bypasses appeal to any sacerdotal intermediary such as a priest or confessor.

In her *Mirouer*, Marguerite explains her theology: her idealized 'Sainte Eglise la Grande' (Holy Church the Great), guided by 'Simples Ames Anienties' (Simple Annihilated Souls), or free souls, is the true church on earth, rather than the historical 'Sainte Eglise la Petite' (Holy Church the Little) guided by 'mediary' clergy and supported by the sacraments, mass, sermons, fasting, prayers and interpretations of the scriptures by Reason. The Soul does not live in service to the Virtues or Reason, a point hammered in again and again by means of Love's (and the Soul's) denigration of Reason. Unfortunately, Reason has taught the Soul to obey the Virtues until death; those souls who obey the Virtues – through mortification of the body, charitable work, belief in death by martyrdom, and prayers that enhance good will – are happy but lost. The individual Soul finds a truer home in the former church rather than in the latter by rejecting the clerical apparatus of that church and the agency of Reason. Purporting to be the words of Lady Love, who appears before Marguerite, the *Mirouer* masks its author by the figure of the Soul and the clergy by Reason, who interrogates Love.

First written in Middle French between 1296 and 1306 and later translated into Middle English and then Latin,⁹ after her death Marguerite's *Mirouer* was stripped of her authorship in most manuscripts. Because of its anonymity, the *Mirouer* was not viewed as noticeably feminine.¹⁰ Only in 1946 did Romana Guarnieri attribute the *Mirouer* to Marguerite and identify this book as the cause for her burning in Paris.¹¹ In the north of England, however, as Marleen Cré argues, her book was likely copied, edited and translated into Middle English by a Carthusian, rather remarkably, like the *Book of Margery Kempe* preserved at the Carthusian Mount Grace Priory in Yorkshire.¹² Written in only one hand, likely around 1413, the manuscript in which it appears, London, British Library, MS Additional 37790 (Amherst, or A), contains a number of contemplative works: translations of two Latin works by Richard Rolle, a Middle English translation of a Dutch mystical treatise by Jan van Ruusbroec, and short mystical pieces by Henry Suso, Bridget of Sweden, and the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, who may have been influenced by Marguerite's work.¹³

Even more significantly, this same manuscript of Marguerite's *Mirouer* in Middle English also contains the only copy of the short, first version (the Short Text) of the visions of thirty-and-a-half-year-old Julian of Norwich which, according to the text, occurred on

8 May 1373 after a near-death experience, perhaps inscribed as much as twenty years thereafter, in 1393, at which time she received a further revelation concerning them (there also exists a much longer version, written later (the Long Text)).¹⁴ As far as the date of inscription of the Short Text is concerned, Nicholas Watson has conservatively argued for a date of composition ranging from 1393 – when ‘Lady Julian’ was identified as an anchoress in the parish history of St Julian’s Parish by the eighteenth-century historian of Norfolk, Francis Blomefield – to around 1413 – the *terminus ad quem*, according to the date of the Amherst manuscript, when the author, a ‘devoute womann, a recluse atte Norwyche’, was ‘3itt . . . onn lyfe’.¹⁵ A year pregnant with meaning, 1413 was also the year in which the Long Text of Julian’s revelations was, according to its opening rubric, copied into the exemplar for the earliest surviving mid-seventeenth-century incarnation.¹⁶ Finally, 1413 also marks the year that Margery Kempe visited Julian of Norwich in her anchoritic cell. Of course, there is no reason *not* to believe that Julian’s first composition occurred shortly after the original visions, whatever teaching she may have received later from or about one of them.

The Short Text of Julian’s *Revelations of Love*, unfortunately, is only rarely regarded as crucial to understanding Julian’s theology,¹⁷ except in alleging how the anchorite matured into the author of the longer, later *Shewings* (the Long Text, also known today as *A Revelation of Love*). For example, at the opening of her book on the Long Text, Denise N. Baker acknowledges that

The priority of the short text to the long is crucial to my study of *A Book of Showings* because I endeavor, in the chapters that follow, to delineate Julian’s *maturation*, in the process of composing these two different versions, from *a visionary into a theologian*.¹⁸

Further, it may be true that the major differences between the Short Text and the Long Text involve only the deletion of first person pronouns and passages, such as when Julian’s mother believes she is dead and closes her eyes; the story of St Cecilia, with whom the anchorite identifies; and other concrete details that provide a sense of ‘immediacy’ and ‘urgency’.¹⁹

Nevertheless, because Julian’s Short Text offers, as I hope to demonstrate, a more concrete vision of female physical humanity in her Trinity, for the sake of the argument that I wish to present here it is also preferable to the Long Text because its earliest incarnation occurs in a manuscript with Marguerite’s *Mirouer*. Inscribed closer to the initial visionary experience, the Short Text exists as a better testament to Julian’s original experience of the visions and lessens the possibility of the text having been manipulated or influenced by a confessor or other sacerdotal intermediary. Certainly by the much later date of the Long Text a more difficult ecclesiastical and cultural situation existed for those who offered unconventional approaches to theology.²⁰ As Nicholas Watson has warned in relation to Julian’s work, ‘any vernacular religious work produced from the 1380s on (especially one containing a good deal of serious theological discussion) was liable to be treated with circumspection by orthodox readers’.²¹

In addition, the manuscript basis for Julian’s Long Text is vexed, which complicates decisive interpretation: of the three manuscripts of the whole work, the earliest two are mid-seventeenth century. Like recent editors and/or translators Marion Glasscoe, B. A. Windeatt, Frances Beer and Elizabeth Spearing, editor Georgia Ronan Crampton preferred,

as a base for her edition of the Long Text, London, British Library, Sloane 2499 (S1), because it attempts to gloss archaic words, it preserves more conservatively the late medieval north-eastern dialect than the second major manuscript of the Long Text, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds anglais 40 (Paris, or P) and it exhibits signs of much use.²² However, recent co-editors, Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins, like previous co-editors Father Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, selected as a base Paris (P), a manuscript previously believed to have been copied in the fifteenth century but, because of its expansion and editing, now generally accepted as seventeenth century.²³ Watson and Jenkins do not believe Paris's modernizations are that extensive, even though its dialect is closer to the East Midlands from which modern English is derived rather than to a north-eastern dialect, that is, to Julian's. Despite their selection the latter editors do acknowledge that the word choices in the Long Text found in Sloane 2449 (S1) frequently echo those of the Short Text in Amherst (A) and 'sometimes' the excerpts contained in the sixteenth-century Westminster manuscript – just as Paris (P) 'sometimes' echoes its irregular forms.²⁴

As I argue in this article, when Julian scholars base their interpretation of her Trinity on the Long Text alone, they often single out as authoritative her allegorical (and, generally more ecclesiastical and orthodox)²⁵ doctrine of God's Motherhood, in which Julian tends to elide female physicality and the concrete imagery of the Short Text in her identification of Jesus as Mother.²⁶ After the fourteenth revelation Julian declares in the Long Text that 'as verily as God is our fader, as verily God is our Moder' ('God is as truly our mother as he is our father').²⁷ She also identifies the second person of the Trinity as our abstracted natural mother, the source of our physical humanity: 'the Second Person of the Trinite is our Moder in kynde in our substantiall makeyng, in whome we arn groundid and rotid' ('the second person of the trinity is our natural mother, in whom we are grounded and rooted').²⁸ What Julian means by this phrasing is that, in our creation, humanity mirrors the structure of a Holy Family, if one similarly distanced from the physical: in the Long Text, 'God almighty is our kindly fader, and God alwisdam is our kindly Moder, with the love and the goodnes of the Holy Gost, which is al one God, on lorde' ('God almighty is our natural father, and God all-wisdom our natural mother, who together with the love and goodness of the holy ghost are all one God, one lord').²⁹

Julian's transformation of the Trinity into an allegorical Holy Family in the Long Text does not disturb scholar Alexandra Barratt, who, noting the scarcity of explicit references to the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity (only two) in Julian's Short Text, prefers the Long. For Barratt, the anchorite's summary of the sixteen earlier showings in the Long Text begins and ends with mention of the Trinity in a manner that makes it the 'foundation of all the individual shewings'.³⁰ She indicates that Julian here essentially reduces her Trinity to one, without noticing Julian's reintroduction of orthodoxy, in God the Father perceived as being *in* Christ, as if Christ enveloped him: 'in Crist the father is'.³¹ Julian's construction of an intellectualized, abstract Father-Mother model of the Trinity, Barratt speculates, likely followed 'subliminally' from the physical equality of the seated Father and Son in the Trinity's iconographical representation in a nearby church.³² However, Barratt does acknowledge, without further comment, that Julian's rejection of a visualized representation of the Trinity in the Long Text would probably have stemmed from a desire to dissociate herself from the Lollards, who believed that God should not be represented as

belonging to the same order as humankind and who objected to the worship of images.³³ Barratt here offers a clue as to why the Short Text contains a greater emphasis on experiential and concrete imagery.

Julian's later desire to dissociate herself from Lollardy in the Long Text may also explain why Christ's mother therein has so merged with the Son that she has lost her concrete physical identity and has become, through her characteristics of understanding, sensuality and grace, an allegory. In the Long Text, Julian understands God to be divinity and Christ to be humanity, or what she calls 'sensualite', likely through the Virgin Mary, who plays only the theological role of a conduit despite Julian's clever essentialization by means of this word. Although Julian does not mention Mary explicitly in this passage, she projects her role onto that of an impersonalized second person, Christ: 'in the Seconde Person, in witt and wisdam, we have our keping as anempts our sensualite, our restoryng, and our savyng. For He is oure Moder, brother, and savior' ('In the second person, in understanding and in wisdom, we are cared for in terms of our sensuality, our restoration and our salvation, for he is our mother, brother and savior').³⁴ Such abstracted and allegorized humanity provides the corporal and natural basis for Christ's mercy: 'And thus is Jesus our very Moder in kynde, of our first making; and He is our very Moder in grace, be takyng of our kynde made' ('Thus Jesus is our true mother in nature by our first creation, and he is our true mother in grace by his assumption of our sensual being').³⁵ Even when God in the person of Christ assumes the masculine role of husband, Julian overlays his function with an allegorization of the Holy Ghost as agent of union: 'in the knittyng and in the onyng' (in the knitting and the uniting) he also becomes our spouse, just as we are 'His loved wif and His fair maiden with which wif He is never displesid. For He seith, "I love the, and thou lovist me, and our love shal never be departid on to"' ('his beloved wife and fair maiden, with whom he is never displeased; as he says, "I love you and you love me, and our love shall never be divided"').³⁶

For Julian, in the Long Text, it is redemption that returns us to our natural (original) state, predicated upon a scholastic translation of nurture and love into Christ's mercy and grace, abstractly symbolized by 'motherhood'. She declares,

But now behovyth to sey a litil mor of this forthspredyng, as I understand in the menyng of our Lord, how that we be bowte agen be the Moderhede of mercy and grace into our kyndly stede, wher that we were made be the Moderhede of kynd love; which kynd love, it never levyth us.

(Now it is fitting to say a little more about this fostering, as I understand the meaning of our lord – about how we are redeemed by the motherhood of mercy and grace, and returned to the natural state in which we were created by the motherhood of natural love, which never leaves us).³⁷

Here, also, Christ – 'our lord' – emerges as an impersonal and transcendent 'Moder', with the Paris manuscript of the Long Text referring to Christ alone (Mary expunged), accompanied only by the masculinized reference to his role as Mother:

Thys feyer louely worde: Moder, it is so swete and so kynde in it selfe that it may not verily be seyd of none ne to none but *of hym and to hym that is very mother of lyfe and of alle*.

(This fair lovely word Mother is so sweet and so natural in itself that it may not truly be said of any or to any but *of him and to him that is very mother of life and of all*).³⁸

‘Of him and to him’: the unnamed Christ is Mother. In the Sloane (S1) manuscript of the Long Text, in contrast, at least Christ *is* joined by his own (unnamed) mother, together, mother of all: ‘This fair, lovely word *Modir*, it is so swete and so kynd of the self that it may ne verily be seid of none *but of Him and to hir that is very Moder of Hym* and of all’ (‘This fair lovely word *mother* is so sweet and so natural in itself that it may truly be said of no one *but him, and of her who is mother of him* and of us all’).³⁹

Although Julian does not mention any sacerdotal intermediary between us and Christ, nevertheless, it is through Jesus as Mother – that is, through the theological concept of his Passion as the blood-sacrifice that ‘feeds’ his children⁴⁰ – that we receive all the sacraments which are mediated through a priest, most especially, the Eucharist, which Julian compares in her allegorization (once more, by analogy) to mother’s milk:

The Moder may geven hir child soken her mylke, but our pretious Moder Jesus, He may fedyn us with Himselfe, and doith full curtesly and full tenderly with the blissid sacrament that is pretious fode of very lif. And with al the swete sacraments He susteynith us ful mercifully and graciously.

(The mother may give her child her milk to suck, but our beloved mother Jesus feeds us with himself. He does so courteously and tenderly with the blessed sacrament that is the priceless food of life itself. Mercifully and gracefully he sustains us with all the sweet sacraments).⁴¹

This longer version, revised as much as thirty years after Julian’s experiencing of the original showings, may well constitute a rewriting of the short version in response to clerical intervention at a time when the church was alarmed by the threat of Lollardy and inroads into its authority.⁴² Describing the dilemma that confronted Julian in the construction of the Long Text as ‘the discrepancy between her vision and the teachings of the church’,⁴³ Denise Baker suggests that another passage in the Long Text that pertains to the doctrine of original sin – the parable of the lord and servant, in which the servant sent on a mission falls in a ditch and fails in his task but is not blamed by the lord – provided a resolution to Julian’s dilemma. Yet, even here, Baker concludes that in the Long Text Julian ‘affirms her submission to church teachings’,⁴⁴ implying that Julian has been pressed by others to do so and to change what she had written originally in the Short Text. As such, the Long Text alone cannot be wholly trusted as an accurate, unmanipulated reflection of Julian’s original intentions.

Julian of Norwich’s Trinity: Christ’s wound and the woman Mary in the Short Text

In contrast to the longer version, as I will show, Julian’s feminized Trinity in her Short Text tends to reinvent and valorize the humanity of Christ to include ‘woman’ as well as ‘man’ through concrete and vivid visual depictions and, conversely, to diminish implicitly the power and domination of God the Father. And, if Christ has man (and woman) in him, as well as God – ‘in Crist the father is’ – then what theological weight has original sin, regarded as a consequence of Eve’s seduction of Adam? Julian anthropomorphizes the Trinity, she naturalizes it, but most of all, she physically feminizes it. This is true from

the very beginning of the Short Text of the *Revelations*, which includes Julian's sixteen literal visions ('showings'), the literal details of which are almost entirely missing from the more allegorized Long Text.

The key to Julian's more physical feminization of the Trinity lies in the concomitant equivocation of Christ's Passion, of his love, even of him, with his own mother Mary assuming the position of the second person. In the incident that catalyzed Mary's apotheosis (Julian's near-death illness in 1373, when the anchoress experienced mystical visions of Christ's Passion), the connection between Christ's suffering and love for humankind comes to merge with that of Mary (and of Julian herself). During her illness, Julian witnesses Christ's Passion in sixteen revelations or showings – described in detail in the shorter, earlier version of her book in over twenty-two sections – his blood merging with what appears to the reader to be Julian's and ultimately with that of his mother Mary.

The showings begin after Julian's priest brings her a cross with the image of Christ on it for consolation (section 2) – presumably because she is going to die, for she has already received last rites; indeed, feeling has already left the upper part of her body. After her physical sight fails, at first Julian sees a light around the cross's image; in section 3, her pain having departed, she experiences the first vision, of hot, red blood emanating from beneath the garland on Christ's head. Then multiple visions appear to her that allow her to empathize with and understand Christ and identify with his Passion (described in section 8): she experiences the second vision, of the Passion in Christ's face, when he is scorned, spit upon, defiled and bruised, his colour changing and his blood on it dark and dry; in the third vision, the sense of sight transforms into rational understanding of God; in the fourth vision, blood runs fresh and hot down Christ's body, almost down into her bed, in a bridging of the barrier between vision and reality:

I sawe behaldande the bodye plenteuouslye bledande, hate & freschlye and lyfelye, ry3t as I sawe before in the heede. . . And this was schewyd me in the semes of scowrgynge, and this ranne so plenteuouslye to my syght that me thought 3yf itt hadde bene so in kynde for þat tyme, itt shulde hafe made the bedde alle on blode & hafe passede on abowte.

(I saw the body bleeding profusely – hot, fresh, lifelike – just as I had before seen in the head . . . The bleeding was shown in the wounds of the scourging, and I saw the blood run so plenteously that, if it had actually done so for that long, it would have saturated the bed and flowed beyond it).⁴⁵

The vision seems to subsume Julian's bed when Christ's blood flows so fully that it might have saturated it had the pour of blood actually continued, almost as if she herself were sharing in it, possibly haemorrhaging from excessive menstruation or some other uterine disorder or wound. In the fifth vision she hears unvoiced words in her soul that the Devil has been defeated and, accordingly, she sees joy, scorn and passion. In the sixth, still part of section 8, Christ thanks her for her service and youthful suffering; in the seventh (section 9), she experiences a transcendent joy.

Julian's visions become more spiritual when, in the eighth vision, she sees Christ's face nearing death, his face changing in colour from pale to paler, blue to darker blue, during which she experiences compassion for his pain while her own mother stands watch over her, believing she is dying (section 10). Here, Julian also witnesses Mary's own

compassion for her son, derived from the pain her love for him caused: 'criste & scho [Mary] were so anede in loove that þe gretnesse of hir loove was the cause of the mykillehede of hir payne' ('she and Christ were so united in love that the greatness of her love caused the magnitude of her pain').⁴⁶ Different kinds of love are then revealed to Julian: in the ninth vision she arrives at a heavenly understanding of his suffering for her involved in his Passion (section 12); in the tenth, Christ's inexplicable divine love for her is conveyed when he looks 'merely' (merrily) at his side and exclaims, 'Loo, how I lovyd the' (Lo, how I loved you) (section 13). Christ means to say, Julian explains, that the wound from the centurion's piercing that opened his side and divided his heart into two so that water and blood were released is a sight pleasing to him because he loves her. This love leads him in the eleventh vision to ask her, just as the thought of his mother pops into her mind in a remarkable telepathy without ecclesiastical intermediary, 'Wille thoue see hir?' ('Would you like to see her?').⁴⁷ What Julian 'sees' is Mary at three crucial moments: first, Mary's own conception (her Immaculate Conception, without original sin); next, her sorrow at the cross; finally, as she is in heaven, after her Assumption, in 'lykyng, wirschippe, and ioye' ('pleasure, honour and joy').⁴⁸ Put another way: Christ's feminized wound of love leads both Christ and Julian to think of his mother.

The linking of Christ's wound with his love and, then, with Mary as a woman establishes his feminization in the Short Text. In part, the wound of Christ in the Short Text represents woman's wound, both literally and theologically gendered, in that she was punished by Eve's role in the Fall with the pain of childbirth. The image of woman's wound leads to its remediation in the Immaculate Conception of Mary; her birthing of Christ enabled the amelioration of Eve's sin by means of opportunity for redemption through the sacrifice of her son. For these reasons illustrations of Christ's wound in medieval religious books occasionally present this wound as sexual.⁴⁹ As such, they 'cannot be disassociated from present-day use of female genital imagery', in part because the books in which they appear are often intended for female readers and, therefore, have gendered meditative significance in which the viewer is invited to join with Christ in order to understand the Passion, as if the viewer were male and Christ female (regardless of their actual sexes).⁵⁰ One of the most startlingly graphic examples is the mid-fourteenth-century Psalter and Book of Hours produced by Jean le Noir and his daughter for Bonne of Luxembourg, who was the mother of Charles V and the wife of Jean, duke of Normandy.⁵¹ Flora Lewis remarks that 'these large red forms, with their vertical axis (which is rare in representations of the wound in Christ's body), often shown bleeding, have a powerful sexuality'.⁵² Such illustrations show a kinship with the description offered by Julian of Norwich both of the profuse blood in various showings, which threatens to flood her bed, and of the femininity of Christ, revealed in his wound and the connection through it to his mother, Mary.

In contrast to this concrete and corporal feminization, after the fourteenth revelation the Long Text stresses the wound in Christ's side more abstractly and allegorically as the gateway to God and heaven, with a theological characterization of his 'maternity' as the nourishing Sacrament of the Eucharist offered to his 'child', the soul:

The moder may leyn the child tenderly to her brest, but our tender Moder Jesus, He may homely leden us into His blissid brest be His swete open syde and shewyn therin party of the Godhede and the joyes of Hevyn with gostly sekirnes of endless bliss. And that He shewid in the tenth,

gevyng the same understandyng in this swete word wher He seith, 'Lo, how I lovid the', beholdand into His side, enjoyand.

(The mother may lay the child tenderly at her breast; but our tender mother Jesus kindly leads us into his blessed breast through his sweet open side, therein showing in part the Godhead and the joys of heaven, with the spiritual assurance of endless bliss. This he showed in the tenth revelation, as he looked joyfully into his side, giving the same meaning with his sweet words, where he says 'Lo, how I loved you').⁵³

Christ is ultimately understood as incorporating the entire Trinity, not just the Son but also God and the Holy Ghost, as illustrated in his conditional statement to Julian in the Short Text (echoed in the Long Text) of his salvific intention: 'I [maye] make alle thyng wele, I [can] make alle thyng wele, I [wille] make alle thyng wele, and I [schalle] make alle thyng wele' ('I may make all things well, I can make all things well, I will make all things well, and I shall make all things well').⁵⁴ Julian herself immediately and confidently glosses this statement made personal only by its use of the first person: according to her understanding, 'I may' represents the Father, potentiality; 'I can' represents the Son; 'I will', the Holy Ghost; 'I shall', the unity of all three. Christ's cryptic words about salvation here become a mirror that reflects back Julian's understanding of the Trinity as three in one, the one encompassing the other persons within Christ as the second person, our mother, and his. In addition, in this deeply spiritual gloss, Julian also adds a statement that Jesus has not yet spoken, as if she were reading his mind and, again, using her understanding to parse his words: 'there he says "thowe shalle se thyselfe", I understande the aninge of alle mankind that shalle be sayfe into the blisfulle trinite' ('where he says *you shall see yourself*, I understand the uniting in the blessed trinity of all mankind who shall be saved').⁵⁵ In the Trinity is mirrored the self and all humankind who will be saved: Julian pronounces these unspoken words of Christ with surety of his promise of salvation at the Last Judgment, but she also implies there is a divinity in humanity.

That is, Julian herself will also become part of the Trinity, the three in one, united by the second person, as Christ is also the personal Julian and all Christians mirrored in him: mirrored as female in a feminine Christ. And, therefore, he is the church, Ecclesia, as Julian acknowledges in the Short Text: 'for he is haly kyrke. For he is the grownde, he is the substaunce, he is the techynge, he is the techere, he is the ende, he is the mydde wharefore ilke trewe sawlle trauaylles' ('for he is holy church. He is the foundation and the substance; the teaching and the teacher; he is the goal, the center, towards which each true soul strives').⁵⁶ If Christ is without sin, it is logical that Julian will see in him and in herself no sin: sin is 'no thing'. She puts it more scholastically (and elliptically) in the Long Text: 'Thus He is our Moder in kynde be the werkyng of grace in the lower parte for love of the heyer parte' ('Thus, for love of the higher part, he is our natural mother in the lower part, through the operation of grace').⁵⁷

Where did Julian find antecedents for her Trinity and its female humanity? The Short Text shares features with the even greater radicalism of Marguerite's earlier *Mirouer*, whose alleged heresies resulted in her death. The remainder of the article will consider in greater detail the related but different ways Marguerite and Julian in the Short Text attempt to repudiate or diminish the doctrine of original sin, particularly as caused by a woman, by means of their re-creation of a feminized Trinity that allows for the 'physical

humanity' of women. Without original sin, there would be no need for a church – or priests.

*The annihilation of original sin: from heresy
in Marguerite to the heterodoxy of Julian*

As a prose dialogue (intermingled with songs) mainly among the female personifications of Love, Reason and the Soul, Marguerite's *Mirouer* emphasizes the resourcefulness of the embodied Soul as it progresses through six states of grace to mystical union with God on earth (the seventh state occurs in paradise, after death). Marguerite's major personifications of Love and the Soul and their variations clarify the nature of the mystical journey in the *Mirouer* as a seven-estate (or state) process of spatial being that begins with an act of grace and ends with the Soul becoming near-perfect, annihilated, in states five and six, when the individual will stops encumbering her and the divine will begins to live in her. From the first state, the stripping away of sin and the adherence to God's commandments – meaning the New Testament commandments to love God with all her heart and to love her neighbour as herself – the Soul moves in state two to emulation of Christ's evangelical teachings; in state three she sacrifices the performance of good works and relinquishes her will and in state four attains true freedom and contemplation. Finally, and most importantly, in state five the Soul removes herself from the will that must will only the Divine Will and becomes nothing, truly annihilated: annihilation represents the freedom to live in the world after having become Love and being served by those very Virtues, especially Humility, whom the Soul herself previously served. In state six, although embodied, the Soul, like the six-winged seraphim, loves, understands and praises only God. Her experiences during her journey do not necessarily lead to the other world or the after-life, although state seven does involve her arrival in paradise after death.

By means of her doctrine of the Annihilated Soul and the spiritual process involving the annihilation of Reason, Marguerite participates in what might be termed a newly developing, often feminized, spiritual approach to humanity that rejects the doctrine of original sin as demeaning to women – an approach shared by Julian. As far as the corporal presence of original sin is concerned, late in Marguerite's work the Unencumbered Soul presents two fantastic petitions, the force of which, according to Marguerite's prelapsarian theology, allows the beguine to excise original sin from the Soul. The Soul's first petition is to see herself in the state in which she existed at the moment of the Creation:

La premiere chose qu'elle demande, est que elle se voie tousjours (se ainsi est qu'elle voie nulle chose) ou elle estoit quant Dieu fist de nient tout, et si soit certaine que elle n'est aultre chose que ce – quant est d'elle – , ne ne sera sans fin, pouse qu'elle n'eust oncques meffait a la bonté divine"

(The first thing which she asks is that she see herself always [if she is to see anything] where she was when God made all things from nothing, so that she might be certain that she is not other than this – when she is of herself – nor will she be eternally [other than this] because she had rebelled against the divine goodness).⁵⁸

This request, as clarified by translator Ellen Babinsky's note to this passage, 'refers to the virtual existence of the soul as the nothing from which all things were made at

creation'.⁵⁹ In the second petition, the Unencumbered Soul wants to see what she has done with her free will, which God, or Verité, has given to her, when she sins: she has 'à Dieu mesmes sa voullenté tollue, en ung seul moment de consentement de peché' ('removed her will from God Himself in one sole moment of consent to sin').⁶⁰ Because God hates sin, she has done 'ce que Dieu ne vault mie, et qui est contre sa divine bonté' ('what God does not will and what is against His divine goodness').⁶¹ The original state of the self, in effect, is divinely good and in accord with his will, from which one should not remove one's own will. Thus, annihilation of the will strips the soul of original sin.

Accordingly, by means of the process of annihilation of original sin, Marguerite recasts the so-called Fall of humankind through Eve and the first disobedience, which creates the possibility of a fresh start for a female soul whose will has been given over to God. For Marguerite, the body and soul, originally united at the creation of Adam, were divorced by sin, but the body cannot be considered defective, as evidenced by Jesus's humanity through Mary. It is instead the soul that originates from nothingness, with the will of Adam having the greatest culpability for the Fall.⁶² Although Eve is not mentioned anywhere in the *Mirouer*, Marguerite begins the Soul's journey to perfection at the point in the first state when her Soul is touched by grace in 'the land of life', having been 'removed from sin'. The removal of sin from humanity in Marguerite's theology opens the door to human – and female – divinity.

Marguerite also imagines a means of removing original sin by means of the example of Mary Magdalene, the repentant sinner, who was dishonoured only by those who condemned her when she was 'sourprinse, prinse, et emprise' (overtaken, captured, and filled).⁶³ Magdalene, here confused with Mary, the sister of Martha, who sat at Jesus's feet listening to him speak rather than busying herself with serving like Martha,⁶⁴ attains a level of enduring spiritual nobility for Marguerite because, according to Jesus, she 'hath chosen the better part, which shall not be taken away from her' (Luke 10: 38–42, Douay-Rheims Bible). Reason admires Magdalene when she seeks Jesus Christ through desire of will, but after Love overtakes and annihilates her when she is in the desert, she lives by divine life.⁶⁵ An Annihilated Soul such as Magdalene is able to give up her will to God, which relieves her of sinfulness: she

plante si nuement sa voullenté, que elle ne peut pecher, se elle ne se desplante. Elle n'a de quoy pecher, car sans voullenté nul ne peut pecher. Or elle n'a garde de pecher, se elle lesse sa voullenté la ou elle este plantee, c'est en celluy qui la luy avoit donnee de sa bonté franchement.

(plants her will so nakedly that she cannot sin if she does not uproot herself. She has nothing to sin with, for without a will no one can sin. Now she is kept from sin if she leaves her will there where it is planted, that is, in the One who has given it to her freely from His goodness).⁶⁶

In the traditional view, because the will is created free, it must be continuously exercised to forestall the advent of sin; if it could be abandoned – impossible to do until death – then it would not be considered free.

Marguerite, always feminizing her theology, terms Free Will the sign of the Soul's nobility that can be given up, or 'planted', in God (as was the case with Magdalene), in the sixth and most noble stage in the journey of the Soul toward annihilation. God (Truth) 'luy donna sa bonté, dont il la fist *dame*. Ce fut Franche Voullenté, qu'il ne peut de luy

ravoir sans le plaisir de l'Ame' ('gave her [the Soul] His goodness by which He made her a lady. [This goodness] was Free Will, which He cannot take from her without the pleasure of the Soul').⁶⁷ The part of God given to humanity is Free Will, which the Soul can return to him once more, divesting herself of that 'goodness' (the way it was before he made her a lady).⁶⁸ One chooses the possibility of sinfulness or its annihilation in annihilation: 'Tous ce mucent encore donc par le peché de Adam, fors ceulx qui sont adnientiz: ceulx cy n'ont que mucer' ('All still hide by the sin of Adam, except those who are annihilated: those have nothing to hide').⁶⁹ Because human souls that come from nothing still carry the mark of the Trinity inside, explains Robinson, noble souls can return through Love to 'embodied "nothingness"'.⁷⁰

One of the most innovative of Marguerite's concepts concerns the divinity of humanity as expressed by means of her hidden and reworked 'Trinity', based on a series of equations whose common denominator is love, as experienced by the subject, Marguerite, the 'I' or the Soul. The Holy Spirit (Love) equals in importance God the Father (Truth) and the Son (Wisdom) in creating and taking care of the soul.⁷¹ Through Love, Marguerite (as the Soul) declares,

Je suis Dieu . . . car Amour est Dieu, et Dieu est amour, et ceste Ame est Dieu par condicion d'amour, et je suis Dieu par nature divine, et ceste Ame l'est par droiciture d'amour.

(I am God . . . for Love is God and God is Love, and this Soul is God by the condition of Love. I am God by divine nature and this Soul is God by righteousness of Love.)⁷²

Marguerite begins with the more conventional Trinity (hidden by her allegory) in which the Son (or Wisdom) is joined to human nature by God (or Truth); God the Son, as Wisdom, unites human nature to the person of God as Truth himself, and God the Holy Spirit as Love unites human nature to God the Son as Wisdom. Then comes her spiritual syllogism: if God has a single divine nature and the Son three natures – divine, corporal and spiritual – and if the Trinity in one person has a divine nature (God the Father) but also three (human) natures, then God shares in humanity, as human nature must also share in divinity.⁷³ So, when God, the first person of the Trinity, responds to Dame Amour, the third person, after Raison has asked the name of the 'country' (*pays*) where Ame, the Soul, lives, he declares that she lives in God the Father (Truth), who gives being to the other two persons and to all else: 'Donc est elle en Dieu le Pere, dit Verité. Car nous croyons que il n'y a personne en la Trinité, qui n'ait prins a autre personne que a sa personne, sinon seulement la personne du Pere' ('Thus is she in God the Father, says Truth. For we believe that there is no person in the Trinity who has not received from His person, save only the person of the Father').⁷⁴ Radical because it cleanses the human soul of all sin and willfulness, Marguerite's concept of the divinity of humanity opposes the idea that the flesh contaminates because of original sin as well as the idea that the soul's struggle with its innate sinfulness cannot end except with death.

Rather interestingly, Julian similarly privileges the role of free will in her construction of the divinity of the human, a divinity that centres very emphatically upon a female 'physical humanity'. For Julian as well as Marguerite, the spiritual universe, especially in the Short Text, lacks a permanent original sin, which usually implies an essential baseness in humanity. Julian's identification of Jesus as the feminized mirror of humankind

and also the source of grace provides a ‘comforthinge againe sinne’ (comfort against sin) that works in two ways, physically (visually and personally) and spiritually (eschatologically). First, what Julian has seen in the third vision – that God does all that is done – explains that God works through us and, therefore, what is and has been done has no sin, as indicated when she saw that ‘alle is wele’; secondly, when God showed her sin, he promised that in the future, ‘Alle thyng schalle be wele’ (‘all [things] shall be well’).⁷⁵ If that is not a strong enough revelation that, whether in the past, present or future, sin has not, does not and will not exist, she explicitly declares that the will naturally does not agree to sin. She asks, in a passage repeated in the Long Text,

What may make me mare to luff myne evencristen than to see in god that he loues alle that schalle be safe, as it ware alle a saulle? And in ilke saule that schalle be sayfe is a *goodely wille that neuer assentyd to synne, na neuer schalle*.

(What can make me love my fellow Christians more than to see in God that he loves All who shall be saved, as if all together were a single soul? And in each soul who shall be saved is a *natural will that has never assented to sin, and never shall*).⁷⁶

About this astonishing statement Frances Beer acknowledges that ‘in this view Julian diverges from church doctrine’: for Julian, divine love signifies a ‘wholeness’ and the individual soul, accordingly, bears a likeness to God.

Delving into this concept of the natural will in greater detail to reveal the nature of sin, Julian explains in the Short Text that, like the persons of the Trinity who are each inclined differently, the individual has two wills, one natural, or ‘bestly’, below and one good, above, but that God loves each person on earth, regardless of sin, as well as in heaven:

For as þer is a *bestely wille* in the nethere party that maye wille na goode, so is thare a *goodely wille* in the ouer partye that maye wille nane eville, botte euer goode, na mare than the persones of the blissed trinyte. And this schewyd oure lorde me in the holehed of luffe that we stande in, in his sight: 3a, that he luffes vs nowe als wele whiles we ere here as he schalle do when we ere thare before his blissed face.

(As there is a *brute will* in the lower part that can desire no good, so is there a pure will in the higher part that is ever good, and is no more capable of desiring evil than the persons of the holy trinity. Our lord showed me this in the wholeness of love that surrounds us in his sight. Indeed, he loves us as well now, while we are here, as he shall when we are there before his blessed face).⁷⁷

Julian’s use of ‘bestely wille’ has been acknowledged by Long Text editor Edmund Colledge as reflective of the contrast between the ‘best(el)i’ body and the spiritual body in a Lollard version of 1 Corinthians 15: 44.⁷⁸ Even if not a Lollard, Julian here draws on what has been regarded as a heretical doctrine: she believes that in our unredeemed state we are good enough for God to love us, before death, before redemption. Her ‘goodely wille’, viewed as equivalent to the desire for good in the persons of the Trinity, appears to mirror Marguerite’s own concept of the soul’s original goodness.

Thus, sin in Julian's Short Text becomes not a mark of shame, but a badge of honour, 'wirschippe to man': in a line more heavily glossed in chapter 38 of the Long Text to emphasize God's agency instead of Julian's in bringing this understanding to her mind, it humbles and strips away the pride of both men *and* women – for Julian is careful to add a female presence here, Mary Magdalene, one also beloved by Marguerite – and this badge of honour allows them entry into heaven:

Also god schewed me that syn is na schame, bot wirschippe to man. For in this sight myn vnderstandynge was lyfted up into heven, and than com verrayly to my mynde David, Peter & Paule, Thomas of Inde and the Maudelayn: howe thaye er knawen in the kyrke of erth with thare synnes to thayre wirschippe. And it is to tham no schame that thay hafe synned, na mare it is in the blysse of heven, for thare the takenynge of synne is turned into wirschippe.

(Further, God showed me that sin is no shame, but a source of honour. In this showing my understanding was lifted up into heaven; then in truth I was reminded of David, Peter and Paul, Thomas of India and the Magdalene, and of how they are known in the church on earth with their sins to their honour. It is no shame to them that they have sinned, nor is it in the bliss of heaven, where the tokens of sin are turned to honour).⁷⁹

The very accessibility of God to Julian while she remains in her sinful mortal state is an example of how God loves us despite our sins and how he has loved other, more famous sinners: about the examples Julian provides in this passage, editor Beer reminds us that David loved Bathsheba, Peter denied Christ, Paul helped to martyr St Stephen, Thomas doubted the Resurrection and Mary Magdalene was likely a prostitute.⁸⁰ Note that in Marguerite's similar acknowledgment of Mary Magdalene's past, above, sin represents no dishonour to her (or to us).

For Julian, especially in the Short Text, the humanity of the second person of the Trinity absorbs the divinity of the other two persons, God and the Holy Spirit, through the nurturing love for humanity that Jesus takes from his mother. This feminized refiguration of the Trinity is presented naturally and visually in the Short Text, but more scholastically and allegorically in the Long Text. Most important, that Christ as God is also the Holy Ghost – in himself, Love, as in Marguerite – becomes very clear by the end of the Short Text. For Julian, sin does not stop God from loving us, because, indeed, Christ *is* charity:

Here may we see that he es hymselfe this charite, and does to vs as he teches vs to do; for he wille that we be lyke to hym in anehede of endeles luffe to oureselfe and to oure evencristen. Na mare than his love es broken to vs for oure synne, na mare wille he that oure love be broken to oureselfe ne to oure evencristen, botte nakedlye hate synne, and endeleslye love the saule as god loves it. For this worde that god sayde es ane endelesse comfort: that [he] kepes vs fulle sekerlye.

(Thus we can see that he is love itself, and does unto us as he teaches us to do – for he wants us to be like him in oneness of endless love, both for ourselves and for our fellow Christians. As his love for us is not broken by our sin, so does he want our love for ourselves and our fellows to be unbroken; rather, we should hate sin utterly, and endlessly love the soul, even as God loves it. These words that God said are an endless comfort: I keep you securely).⁸¹

Indeed, after the sixteenth revelation, almost as a summary of the point of all these showings, Julian answers two important questions, about what we are and what earthly things separate us from God.⁸² In her answers she stresses that we are good once wretchedness (all that is not good) is removed from us and, also, that that which will perish is wretchedness.

In this shorter version of Julian's *Revelations*, then, as well as in some passages that are repeated in the longer version, she offers a truly radical theology, with occasional Lollard implications, one close to Marguerite's love-based (but heretical) mysticism: it makes human, and then feminizes, a Trinity, centred on an embodied, wounded Christ as Mother, through Mary, and on a Holy Spirit identified as Love. Julian's Trinity is mirrored in a humanity whose sinfulness is, in medieval terms, logically accidental and existential, rather than substantial and essential. Like Marguerite, Julian deletes sin's power to diminish the self, because shame and guilt burn away Love, that quality that both visionaries perceive as divine, as God. Feminizing God through one of the three persons of the Trinity, particularly the third, the Holy Ghost, as agent of God constructing Creation and Adam and Eve, or, more frequently, as the second, as Christ himself, both Marguerite and Julian bypass abstraction and the church for a more personal interaction with an accessible divinity who through his Passion shared their female physicality. If the visionaries retain God the Father as the first person, he remains as an abstract and distant figure, replaced in emphasis by either the second or the third person who is then enlarged through a feminized interpretation or role, equal still to each of the other persons. By means of this construction, Julian can be perceived in the Short Text (and in repetitions in the Long Text) as moving in tandem, theologically, with the feminized mysticism of Marguerite. And both visionaries attempt to extinguish the concept of original sin as traditionally defined, especially, its advent as having been caused by the first woman, whom Julian never mentions (although she does mention and make responsible Adam). And while Julian does not highlight the unique creation of this first woman, for both Julian and Marguerite the creation of Mary and Christ derives from the divinity that is humanity, who is Love.

Notes

* The ideas in this essay have been expanded, reworked and/or reprinted from several pages in Jane Chance, *The Literary Subversions of Medieval Women*, New Middle Ages Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 94–7 and 129–31, by permission of Palgrave Macmillan. I am grateful to the Rice University English Department for a summer research grant in 2009 that enabled the bibliographic research and styling assistance so ably provided by English graduate student Susan White and freelance copy-editor Terry Munisteri.

¹ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

² See E. Ann Matter, 'The undebated debate: gender and the image of God in medieval theology', in Thelma S. Fenster and Clare A. Lees (eds), *Gender and Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, New Middle Ages Series (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 44.

³ Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

- ⁴ See Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), p. 102; see also, on greenness, Peter Dronke, 'Tradition and innovation in medieval western colour-imagery', *Eranos Jahrbuch*, 41 (1972), 51–106.
- ⁵ See Hildegard of Bingen, *Liber divinorum operum* 1.4.100, A. Derolez and P. Dronke (eds), *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 92 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), p. 243; *The Book of Divine Works*, in *Secrets of God: Writings of Hildegard of Bingen*, trans. Sabina Flanagan (Boston: Shambala, 1996), p. 70.
- ⁶ Coincidentally, there also exists a contemporary allegorization of the feminized persons of the Trinity in the three classical goddesses, Diana, Ceres and Isis, in Christine de Pizan's Franco-Italian epistolary Ovid commentary and prosimetrum, the *Epistre Othea* (1399–1400) (a work whose subject and genre lie outside the scope of this article but is important to note as a similar historical and literary phenomenon). Christine correlates the planetary goddess Diana who is associated with the moon and chastity (fable 23) by analogy with God, with the first article of the Apostolic Creed, and with St Peter; Ceres, goddess of corn (fable 24), stands for the Son and the second article of the Creed as well for St John; Isis, goddess of plant growth and horticulture (fable 25), represents the multiplication of virtues, or the Holy Ghost, the third article of the Creed, and St James. See Christine de Pizan, *Epistre Othea*, ed. Gabriella Parussa, *Textes Littéraires Français* (Paris: Droz, 1999).
- ⁷ Barbara Newman, *God and the Goddesses: Vision, Poetry, and Belief in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 223. Newman speculates that the creation of feminine personifications in the Middle Ages, whether in mystical treatises, scholastic Latin works or vernacular literature, by both men and women, represents an inclination to feminize God.
- ⁸ For example, in the person of Ame, Marguerite desires to help her neighbour become more perfect, revealing through this desire for perfection her own: that she is *encombree d'elle mesmes* (encumbered with herself) in her search for God *en creature* (in 'creatureliness'). See Marguerite Porete, *Le mirouer des Simples Ames*, 96.9, in Romana Guarnieri (ed.), 'Le mirouer des Simples Ames', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, vol. 4 (Rome: n. p., 1965), p. 266; Marguerite Porete's 'The Mirror of Simple Souls', trans. Ellen L. Babinsky, *Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York and Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1993), p. 170.
- ⁹ Robert E. Lerner argues that the Latin translation is based on the Middle English translation (rather than the other way around), in 'New light on *The Mirror of Simple Souls*', *Speculum*, 85 (2010), 91–116. He also points out that 'Porete' was likely a nickname and not a family name, pp. 92–3.
- ¹⁰ Marleen Cré, 'Women in the Charterhouse? Julian of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love* and Marguerite Porete's *Mirror of Simple Souls* in British Library, MS Additional 37790', in Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead (eds), *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 43–62 (pp. 43–4).
- ¹¹ See the research in support of this discovery in Romana Guarnieri, 'Lo specchio delle anime semplici e Margharita Poirrette', *L'osservatore romano*, 141 (1946), 3.
- ¹² Margery Kempe's book appears in London, British Library, MS Additional 61823. See Cré, 'Women in the Charterhouse?', pp. 50–1. Other extant copies of the Middle English translation of Marguerite's work – namely, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 505, and Cambridge, St John's College, MS C.21 [James MS 71] – were also produced by Carthusians, but at the London Charterhouse (p. 46). For a critical edition of the Middle English translation, see Marilyn Doiron (ed.), 'Margaret Porete: *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, a Middle English translation', *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, 5 (1968), 242–355.
- ¹³ See Cré, 'Women in the Charterhouse?', p. 61, n. 40. On Marguerite's influence on the *Cloud of Unknowing*, see Geneviève Lachaussée, 'L'influence du *Miroir des simples âmes anéanties* du Marguerite Porete sur la pensée de l'auteur anonyme du *Nuage d'inconnaissance*', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales = Forschungen zur Theologie und des Mittelalter*, 64 (1997), 385–99.
- ¹⁴ In London, British Library, Additional 37790, Julian's Short Text appears fourth in order, covering ff. 97r–115r, with Marguerite's Middle English *Mirouer* seventh, covering ff. 137r–225r (Cré, 'Women in the Charterhouse?', pp. 57–8, n. 2).

- ¹⁵ See Nicholas Watson, 'The composition of Julian of Norwich's *Revelation of Love*', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 637–83.
- ¹⁶ See *ibid.*, 680, who cites from fol. 97r of London, British Library, MS Sloane 2499 (S1).
- ¹⁷ Among recent editors, only Frances Beer, both Short Text editor and translator, has argued for privileging the Short Text. See her discussion of the differences between the Short Text and the Long Text, in Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love, The Shorter Version*, ed. from B.L. Add. MS 37790, ed. Frances Beer, Middle English Texts (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1978), pp. 22–5, and her arguments in the 'Introduction' and her interpretive essay, "'All shall be well": the political implications', in Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love, Translated from British Library Additional MS 37790; The Motherhood of God, An Excerpt Translated from British Library MS Sloane 2499*, trans. Frances Beer, Library of Medieval Women (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Brewer, 1998), pp. 2–3, 71–80.
- ¹⁸ Denise Nowalski Baker, *Julian of Norwich's Showings: From Vision to Book* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 5; my emphasis. Other scholars have been similarly intrigued by Julian's changes in her theology, given the long passage of time between the two versions: see also Watson, 'Composition', 637–83.
- ¹⁹ All references to the edition and translation of the Short Text come from Beer. The section on 'The Motherhood of God' in the Long Text is also from Beer's 1978 translation. The Short Text is titled *Revelations* in both Beer's modern edition and translation because Julian stipulates sixteen separate visions and not just one.
- ²⁰ See Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change in late-medieval England: vernacular theology, the Oxford translation debate, and Arundel's constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822–64.
- ²¹ Watson, 'Composition', 665.
- ²² Sloane 2449 is written in a hand like that of Anne Clementine Cary. The third manuscript, London, British Library, MS Sloane 3705 (S2), dates from the early eighteenth century; there are excerpts in a fourth manuscript, early sixteenth-century London, Westminster Cathedral Treasury, MS 4 (ff. 72ff). For a discussion of the manuscripts, see *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich*, ed. Georgia Ronan Crampton, Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo, MI: Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages, 1993), pp. 19–23. See also B. A. Windeatt, 'Julian of Norwich and her audience', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 28 (1977), 1–17, and Marion Glasscoe, 'Visions and revisions: a further look at the manuscripts of Julian of Norwich', *Studies in Bibliography*, 42 (1989), 103–20, who edited Sloane 2499 (S1) in *Julian of Norwich: A Revelation of Divine Love* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1976). All references to the Middle English Long Text, unless otherwise noted, are to Crampton's edition based on Sloane 2499; for a translation of the whole Long Text, similarly based on Sloane 2499, see Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, trans. Elizabeth Spearing (London and New York: Penguin, 1998).
- ²³ See their comments in *The Writings of Julian of Norwich: 'A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman' and 'A Revelation of Love'*, ed. Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), p. 37.
- ²⁴ Although Watson and Jenkins consider Paris as the prime manuscript for the Long Text, their edition contains variant readings from the other extant manuscripts, including Sloane 2499 (S1). In addition to its separate edition of *A Vision* in the same anthology, however, they also print Julian's Short Text beneath the text of the Long Text to indicate differences. See also the earlier edition of Paris in Julian of Norwich, *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*, ed. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, 2 vols, *Studies and Texts* 35 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1978).
- ²⁵ From the early beginnings of the church, an understanding of allegory, according to St Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana (On Christian Doctrine)* – as a seminal work intended to shape an education of priests that culminated in the reading of scripture – fostered a more spiritual interpretation of the literal, 'carnal', text. This pursuit required the study of Latin grammar in the monastic schools and, later, the universities, both of which excluded women. Thus, the presence of allegory and

hermeneutical interpretation in a medieval text more often than not signals a scholastic (and masculine) hand. On allegory, see especially the seminal study by Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 2 vols in 4 (Lyons: Aubier, 1959–64). For education in the Middle Ages, see, for example, Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1989); for the education of women, Joan M. Ferrante, 'The education of women in theory, fact, and fantasy', in Patricia Labalme (ed.), *Beyond their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past* (New York: New York University Press, 1980), pp. 9–42. While Marguerite depends on allegory in her *Mirouer*, it has been criticized by modern scholars for being amorphous; it is also heavily ironic in its critique of her contemporary society and the culture of the church.

- ²⁶ Julian may be concealing a more theologically heterodox perspective under the cover of allegory, a practice that was common especially in the later Middle Ages during politically tense times. See Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography*, vol. 2: *From the School of Chartres to the Court of Avignon, 1177–1350* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), especially ch. 7, on Pierre Bersuire; Jane Chance, *The Mythographic Chaucer: The Fabulation of Sexual Politics* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995). For Julian's subversive tactics in particular, see, in regard to the Long Text and the Motherhood of God, Catherine Innes-Parker, 'Subversion and conformity in Julian of Norwich: authority, vision and the motherhood of God', *Mystics Quarterly*, 23, 2 (1997) 7–35; for those of medieval women more generally in the study of exemplary women from Hrotsvit of Gandersheim to Margery Kempe, see Chance, *The Literary Subversions of Medieval Women*, especially the introduction.
- ²⁷ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 59, ed. Crampton, p. 122; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 64. In the Long Text, editors refer to 'chapters' and not 'sections', as in the Short Text. Beer includes in an appendix to her translation only *The Motherhood of God* passages from the longer version, chaps. 58–63.
- ²⁸ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 58, ed. Crampton, p. 121; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 62.
- ²⁹ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 58, ed. Crampton, p. 120; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 61.
- ³⁰ Alexandra Barratt, "'No such sitting': Julian tropes the Trinity", in Liz Herbert McAvoy (ed.), *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008), pp. 42–52 (pp. 42, 44).
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 45; see also Richard Marks, whom Barratt cites, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), p. 257.
- ³⁴ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 58, ed. Crampton, p. 121; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 62.
- ³⁵ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 59, ed. Crampton, p. 123; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 64.
- ³⁶ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 58, ed. Crampton, p. 120; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 61.
- ³⁷ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 60, ed. Crampton, p. 123; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 65.
- ³⁸ My emphasis. Cf. Colledge and Walsh (eds), *A Book of Showings*, 2, p. 598.
- ³⁹ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 60, ed. Crampton, p. 124; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 66; my emphasis.
- ⁴⁰ For the theological importance of blood in the later Middle Ages, see, for example, the recent work by Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).
- ⁴¹ The Long Text: Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 60, ed. Crampton, p. 124; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 66.
- ⁴² See Watson, 'Composition', 637–83; also, Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change', 822–64.

- ⁴³ Baker, *From Vision to Book*, p. 85.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 106. See also Baker's discussion of Julian's understanding of the parable of the lord and servant in the Long Text as a repudiation of Augustine on original sin through a 'teleological theodicy', that is, by imagining sin as caused by a physical separation from God and its remission aided by the promise of reconciliation (which is basically conventional church teaching) (pp. 83–106). The servant who falls into the ditch (into sin) is like Adam; the lord who refuses to blame him is like Christ; however, the servant is also like Christ in his own good will toward his lord, whom he desires to serve. Similar ideas about Julian's move to orthodoxy in this particular parable and elsewhere in the Long Text appear in M. I. de Maestro, 'Julian of Norwich: parable of the lord and servant – radical orthodoxy', *Mystics Quarterly*, 14 (1988), 84–93; Nicholas Watson, 'The Trinitarian hermeneutic in Julian of Norwich's *Revelation of Divine Love*', in Marion Glasscoe (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium V. Papers Read at Dartington Hall, July 1992* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992), pp. 79–100.
- ⁴⁵ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 8, ed. Beer, p. 5; trans. Beer, p. 35.
- ⁴⁶ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 10, ed. Beer, p. 55; trans. Beer, p. 39.
- ⁴⁷ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 13, ed. Beer, p. 58; trans. Beer, pp. 42–3.
- ⁴⁸ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 13, ed. Beer, p. 59; trans. Beer, p. 43. As Beer points out in her note to the translation (p. 43, n. 35), these times are recorded in Julian's first and eighth revelations.
- ⁴⁹ See Flora Lewis, 'The wound in Christ's side and the instruments of the Passion: gendered experience and response', in Jane H. M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (eds), *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (London: British Library Press; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. 204–23.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 215.
- ⁵¹ New York, Cloisters Museum, MS 69.86, fol. 331r; see Lewis, 'Wound in Christ's side', p. 207 (fig. 90). Figure 89 in Lewis is equally graphic: a drawing from the Villers Miscellany in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, MS 4459–70, fol. 150r (Lewis, 'Wound in Christ's side', p. 205), made by the monk John of St Trond of Villers in Brabant when he was confessor to the nunnery of Parcles-Dames (Vrouwenpark), not far from Louvain (Lewis, 'Wound in Christ's side', p. 206), shows a vaginal-like opening. Illustrations of Christ's whole body with the same kind of wound (as if Christ had just been freed from the cross) also include a woman dressed like a nun kneeling at his feet. See, for example, Lewis's figure 92, from the early fourteenth-century Passional of Abbess Kunigunde, abbess of St George's Benedictine monastery in Prague castle, made by Benes, canon of St George (pp. 204 and 211) (Prague, National and University Library, MS XIV A 17, fol. 7v).
- ⁵² Lewis, 'Wound in Christ's side', p. 215.
- ⁵³ Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 60, ed. Crampton, p. 124; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 66.
- ⁵⁴ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 15, ed. Beer, p. 63; trans. Beer p. 46; cf. ch. 31 of the Long Text.
- ⁵⁵ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 15, ed. Beer, p. 63; trans. Beer, p. 46; cf. also ch. 31 of the Long Text.
- ⁵⁶ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 16, ed. Beer, p. 64; trans. Beer, p. 47.
- ⁵⁷ Julian, *Shewings*, ch. 60, ed. Crampton, p. 124; trans. Beer, *The Motherhood of God*, p. 66.
- ⁵⁸ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 107.2–7, Guarnieri (ed.), p. 290; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 179.
- ⁵⁹ *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 229, n. 93.
- ⁶⁰ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 107.10–11, Guarnieri (ed.), pp. 290, 292; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 179.
- ⁶¹ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 107.13–14, Guarnieri (ed.), p. 292; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 179.
- ⁶² Joanne Maguire Robinson, *Nobility and Annihilation in Marguerite Porete's 'Mirror of Simple Souls'*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 65, 69.
- ⁶³ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 76.11, Guarnieri (ed.), p. 210; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 150.
- ⁶⁴ *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 227, n. 58.

- ⁶⁵ See Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 93.5–11, Guarnieri (ed.), p. 260; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 168.
- ⁶⁶ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 89.4–10, Guarnieri (ed.), p. 252; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 165.
- ⁶⁷ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 91.17–18, Guarnier (ed.), p. 258; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 167; my emphasis.
- ⁶⁸ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 91.17–18, Guarnieri (ed.), p. 258; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 167.
- ⁶⁹ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 94.31–3, Guarnieri (ed.), p. 264; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 169.
- ⁷⁰ Robinson, *Nobility and Annihilation*, p. 51; see also ch. 3, ‘God, the soul, and no-thingness’.
- ⁷¹ See *ibid.*, p. 61.
- ⁷² Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 21.44–7, Guarnier (ed.), p. 82; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 104.
- ⁷³ See Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 14, Guarnieri (ed.), p. 190; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 143.
- ⁷⁴ Marguerite, *Le mirouer*, 67, Guarnieri (ed.), pp. 60, 62; *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Babinsky, p. 96.
- ⁷⁵ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 17, ed. Beer, p. 65; trans. Beer, p. 48. Beer refers the reader to Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, trans. Clifton Wolters (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966), p. 37, which argues that this passage reflects Julian’s understanding that wrath against sin does not form part of God’s love.
- ⁷⁶ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 16, ed. Beer, p. 62; trans. Beer, p. 48 and n. 46; my emphasis.
- ⁷⁷ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 17, ed. Beer, p. 65; trans. Beer, p. 48; my emphasis.
- ⁷⁸ Colledge and Walsh (eds), *A Book of Showings*, 1: 254, n. 10 (ch. 17).
- ⁷⁹ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 17, ed. Beer, p. 65; trans. Beer, p. 49.
- ⁸⁰ See Theresa Coletti, *Mary Magdalene and the Drama of Saints: Theater, Gender, and Religion in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), whose historically contextualized study of the Digby play of *Mary Magdalene* that preserves her life, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 133, sheds light on her early life as a sinner and her later penitence. Magdalene was particularly important in Norwich: see ch. 2, ‘Some East Anglian Magdalenes’, pp. 50–99.
- ⁸¹ Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 18, ed. Beer, p. 67; trans. Beer, p. 50. ‘These words that God said’ appear at the opening of chapter 17 when Julian feels dread.
- ⁸² Julian, *Revelations*, sec. 23, ed. Beer, pp. 75–6; trans. Beer, pp. 57–8.

Hagiography and Idealism: St Dympna of Geel, an Uncanny Saint

JULIANA DRESVINA

The story of St Dympna of Geel¹ offers a striking example of how seemingly fanciful and whimsical late medieval piety can become. Although her connection with anchoritic tradition is not immediately obvious, the saint's flight from the world, her enclosure in a cell in the woods and her fight against the evil one (and her own family) to preserve her spiritual and physical integrity correspond closely with the aspirations, struggles and problems faced by both fictional and real hermits and anchoresses, including Christina of Markyate or the women for whom the Katherine Group was intended. The sudden rise in the popularity of St Dympna's cult coincided with the proliferation of the *Ancrene Wisse* texts; it began in the first half of the thirteenth century, when some obscure bones in two ancient sarcophagi were unearthed in the town of Geel in Brabant, some twenty-five miles outside Antwerp.² A stone was allegedly found in one of the sarcophagi which displayed two lines of letters, documented as DI[M]PNA. The letters were interpreted as the name of the person buried in the tomb.³

The cult of the newly discovered saint became so popular among the local inhabitants within such a short period of time that Bishop Guy of Cambrai (probably Guiard of Laon, 1238–47, or else Guido de Collemedio, alias Gui de Colmieu, 1296–1302) commissioned a certain Pierre, a canon of the church of Saint Aubert at Cambrai (Petrus Cameracensis), to compile St Dympna's *vita*. Pierre testified that the Life was based entirely on vernacular sources (*de vulgari eloquio in Latinum redigerem idioma*),⁴ and represents a peculiar mixture of hagiographic clichés, popular fairy tales and romances. This made the story a nearly unique example of a 'rebounding loan', a piece of hagiography that travelled from Latin into the vernacular, was adapted there to become almost unrecognizable, and was subsequently adopted back into the realm of learned Latinate literature – only to soon leave it again.

The Life of St Dympna can be summarized as follows: Dympna was the only daughter of a pagan Irish king and his vehemently beloved wife (*quam Rex ipse vehementi diligebat affectu*).⁵ The queen fell ill and died, leaving the king inconsolable. He lamented his wife immoderately (*pro ea supervacuis doloribus intabescens*) and his mourning drew him to the brink of insanity. Seeing his teenage daughter, a replica of her late mother, and inspired by the Devil and instigated by his evil counselors, he began to pursue Dympna.

Being a secret Christian and terrified by her father's advances, she initially appealed to his reason, but all of her arguments failed before his violent madness (*ferocitatis & insaniae spiritu*).⁶ Taking counsel with an old saintly priest, Gerebernus, her late mother's confessor, she decided to flee. Dymrna asked her father for a forty-day respite, requesting new dresses and jewels, as if she were considering the king's offer. Instead, dressed as jesters (*sub jocularum effigie*),⁷ the princess and the priest, accompanied by her father's fool and his wife, departed to the Continent, where they settled as hermits in a wilderness near Antwerp, at the village of Geel by the chapel of St Martin.⁸ The king, mad with hatred, sent out his spies to find them and, in a truly detective twist to the story, the inn-keeper in Antwerp recognized the coins given to him by the king's henchmen as similar to those given to him by the party of itinerant minstrels earlier on. The king then arrived and delivered a passionate speech in front of his daughter, calling Dymrna his love, desire and delight, and cleverly subverting the situation by suggesting that she was seduced to abandon her natural love for her father, adhering instead to the old priest and obeying his commandments (*seni decrepito Sacerdoti tamquam filia adhæres, & ipsius in omnibus obtemperares mandatis*).⁹ If she would agree to come back and consent to marry him, the king continued, he would make her queen and goddess, and build a temple with a statue of her for all to venerate. Prompted by Gerebernus, Dymrna refused, repeatedly calling her father a 'tyrant', and so her father, out of his senses (*amens*), gave orders to kill both her and old Gerebernus. The priest in fact appears alarmingly young and attractive in the 1515 carved altar in the church of Geel, which is perhaps intended to illustrate the king's sexual jealousy (plate 1c). Gerebernus was killed, but when it became clear that none of the king's people dared to touch the girl, the king beheaded Dymrna himself.

The church of St Dymrna – her shrine and the centre of her cult – was built in Geel in the mid-fourteenth century, but burnt down in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and was rebuilt soon afterwards under the twelve-decade-long patronage of the de Merode family.¹⁰ Most, if not all, artefacts related to the early stage of the saint's veneration must have perished in the fire, which gave the development of her cult an unexpected impetus. Unrestricted by an existing literary and iconographic canon, the legend of St Dymrna soon acquired additional details: her father's name was supplied as Damon, or Damen;¹¹ he was reported to have returned to his senses the moment he smote his daughter's head off; a group of lunatics, wandering through the woods near Geel years – if not centuries – later, allegedly fell asleep on the very spot where the saint was martyred, which was covered by overgrowth, and woke up next day with their mental health restored.¹² Finally, the saint herself became endowed with unexpected attributes: apart from a sword – the instrument of her martyrdom – she is usually depicted (from the late fifteenth century onwards) with a fettered imp, either sitting at her feet or being trampled down by her. The origin of this iconographic feature is explained below (plate 2).

It is not entirely clear when Dymrna became invoked as a patron saint of insanity. It is known that the new church had a 'sick room' built against the tower to house the ailing during the nine-day pilgrimage to the saint's shrine, according to a local tradition, whence they would be carried into the church three times a day to pray, but it was not specified that they were lunatics at that early stage. However, the 1515 wooden altarpiece carved by Jan van Wavere shows St Dymrna (or her statue) surrounded by devotees seeking cures (plate 1d), and at least two of them can be identified as demoniacs: the seated old man in manacles waiting to be exorcised, supervised by a young man, and the elderly

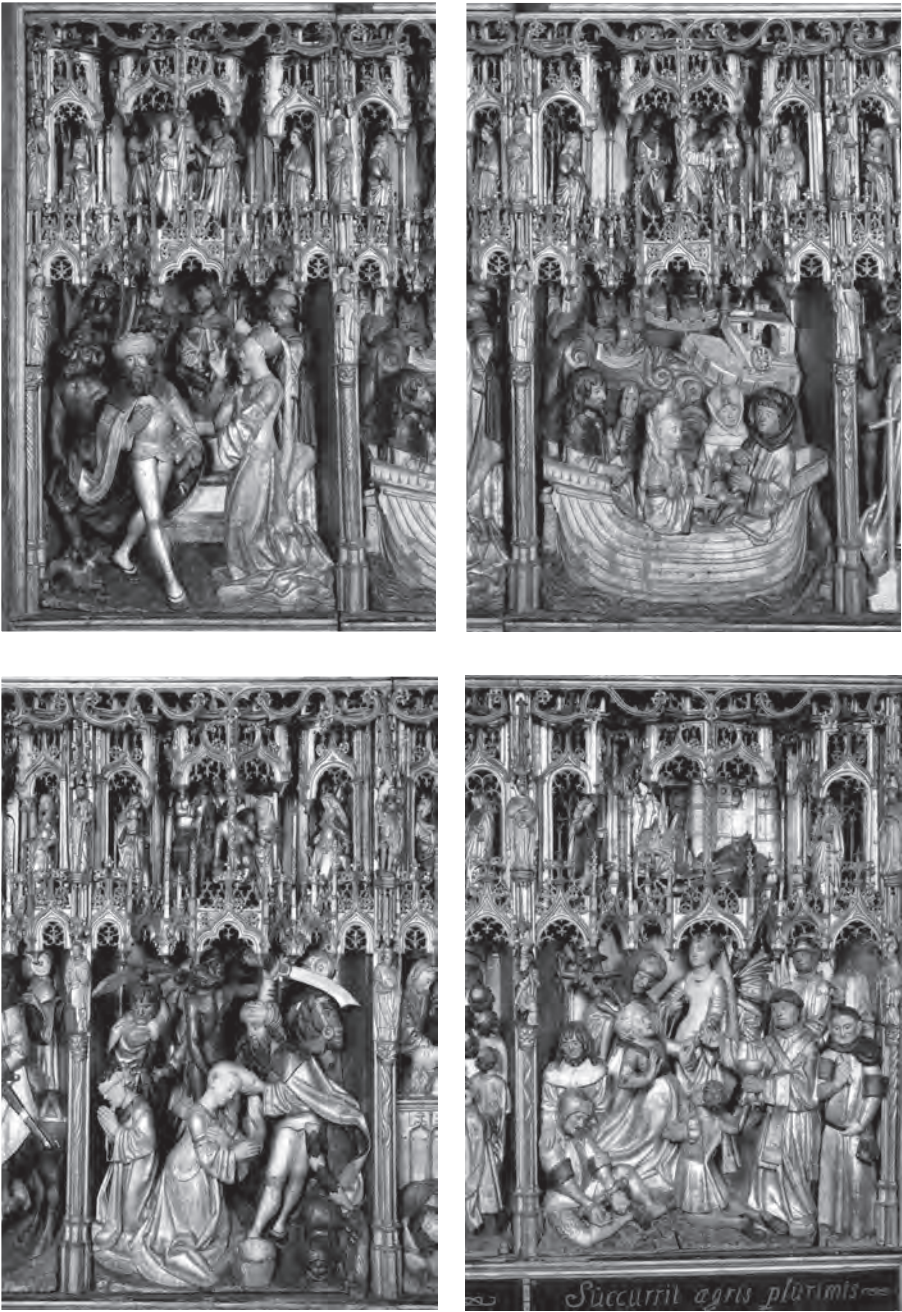


Plate 1: Jan van Wavere (?), St Dymphna altarpiece, c.1515 (made in Mechelen/Brussels for the Church of St Dymphna, Geel). © KIK-IRPA, Brussels



Plate 2: St Dymphna, modelled on the iconography of St Margaret and St Juliana, Dutch, nineteenth century, Geel. © KIK-IRPA, Brussels

woman who kneels before the saint, supported by an assistant as a small devil flies out of her head. The saint's association with lunatics and insanity must have strengthened in the sixteenth century, since the Bollandists recorded numerous accounts of miraculous cures, especially between 1604 and 1668.¹³ The interior of Geel's mental hospital, adjacent to the church, was documented in a panel painted in 1639.¹⁴ The institution was run by Augustinian canonesses of St Norbert who looked after the patients until the state took over in 1850.¹⁵

Even if one takes into account the combination of the evidence listed above and the inexplicable ways of popular religion, Dymphna's association with mental illness still appears perplexing at first, since nothing in her original legend seemingly points in that direction. Yet, a more careful consideration reveals that the three traits uniquely interwoven in her legend – the virgin martyr, outcast child and holy fool – are all connected with insanity or foolery.

In discussing the often unaccountable for hatred of fathers for their virgin-martyr daughters, several scholars have noted the men's underlying incestuous desire for their own offspring. Unspeakable in a piece of conventional hagiography, it appears openly in fairy tales of the Cinderella-cycle, and the 'outcast child' and 'flight from incestuous father' groups and their derivatives, when the 'unnatural father' (in folklorists' terms) wants to marry his own daughter – often on account of her striking similarity to his late wife – and, having been rejected, he makes her flee and/or attempts to persecute her.¹⁶ The flight or persecution often takes the form of setting the female protagonist adrift in a boat, which is echoed in Dymphna's sea voyage to the Continent. The heroine often

requests or is given rich garments before escaping (which may subsequently attract welcomed or unwanted attention) and uses cross-dressing to disappear unnoticed. Both of these motifs are featured in our saint's story.

In the classic virgin-martyr legends the roles of the pursuer and of the persecutor are almost always divided between the saint's father and her suitor. The legend of St Dymrna, however, written down much later and almost on the periphery of the official church, daringly brings incest forward in this striking conjunction of a virgin-martyr legend and a Cinderella-type fairy tale by combining the two roles.¹⁷

The best-known 'secular' story about an 'unnatural father' is the late classical tale of Apollonius of Tyre, widely read in the Middle Ages, in which the king of Antioch secretly cohabited with his daughter.¹⁸ Already in the prototype narrative his lust is referred to as madness (*furor*), and the scene of rape is described in strikingly similar terms to his daughter's martyrdom.¹⁹ Chaucer alludes to the story in the Man of Law's prologue, and it is retold in Book VIII of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, which includes narrative about Antiochus' fallen daughter and Apollonius' pious one, the subject later employed by Shakespeare in his *Pericles*.²⁰ Another development of the motif is visible in what eventually became Shakespeare's *King Lear*, through a medieval collection of popular stories, the *Gesta Romanorum*, which contained a story from the Cinderella-cycle of an outcast daughter and her tyrannical father, whose name is recorded in different versions as either Theodosius or Leyre.²¹

Within the 'unnatural father' group, a frequent theme is the heroine's self-mutilation in order to avoid the incestuous marriage. The thirteenth-century French romance *La Manikene* provides the earliest variation on this subject.²² Another variation of the 'handless maiden' theme is found in the unabridged versions of the Donkey Skin sub-cycle, where the heroine chops her hand off.²³ In the earliest version of this story, the heroine's refusal to marry her father results in his later instigation of her mutilating torture: in a forged letter he commands that her hands and feet should be cut off; however, this does not happen to her (although her children do get mutilated only to be miraculously restored to health).²⁴ In all later variations, the loss of a limb always results from the female protagonist's own initiative.

Christian literature, however, tends to replace the ungodly practices of self-mutilation with injuries and death inflicted upon the saintly girls from the outside, although St Lucy, who gouged out her eyes, is an acceptable example of such self-mutilation.²⁵ As noted above, in hagiography the unnatural desire for the virgin saint is transferred from her father onto her suitor; however, tellingly, her parent is often much more eager to punish her for her refusal. For instance, the father of another legendary virgin martyr, St Christine, encloses his daughter in a tower and would let no man approach her, very much like the king of Antioch who is all too eager to execute any failed suitor to his daughter and secret lover. When he discovers that Christine became Christian in her solitude through the prompting of the Holy Spirit and committed herself entirely to Christ, which he perceives as a betrayal, her father subjects her to numerous tortures of incredible cruelty. Yet,

Christine then took part of her flesh and threw it in the visage of her father saying: O tyrant, take the flesh, which thou hast gotten, and eat it . . . Then he commanded that she should be put in prison, and on the morn to be beheaded. And that same night Urban her father was found dead.²⁶



Plate 3: St Margaret Altar: north German limewood altarpiece, carved and painted, early sixteenth century, Victoria and Albert Museum (192-1866), panels 1–4.
Photo: Juliana Dresvina

It is not clear whether he was killed by God for his impiety, or if he died of a broken heart.

Of all 'pre-historic' virgin martyrs, St Margaret of Antioch is the most relevant to St Dymrna; indeed, it appears that in the early modern period the cult of the Flemish saint was influenced by, if not modelled on, St Margaret's, and this explains much of its peculiarity. First of all, there is a strong connection between the saint's legend and the motif of the outcast child: Margaret is rejected by her urban parents and raised by her Christian nurse in the countryside. In addition, Margaret's life story unwraps in Antioch, the same location as that of the original incestuous couple, the king of Antioch and his daughter. Similarly, Margaret's father is called Theodosius, which, as mentioned above, was also the name of the tyrannical father of the *Gesta Romanorum*.

In the legend, Margaret's aggressively confessional behaviour solicits mutilating tortures so that the saint could avoid the sexual advances of Olibrius, the ruler of Antioch, who appears on her father's throne without any explanation of what happened to Theodosius. Thus, he either stands for or replaces her father in his pagan, unnatural desire for her, his incestuous love-hatred of his own child.²⁷

In a carved altar of St Margaret from northern Germany (plate 3), which is close to that of St Dymrna in both style and date, there is a suspicious similarity between the appearance of Theodosius and Olibrius. They have the same curly hair, the same type of beard and similar tall headgear and flowing garments. Panel 1 (plate 3a), where baby Margaret is brought to her father, echoes the scene of panel 4 (plate 3d), where the already grown-up Margaret is brought before Olibrius. On panels 3 (plate 3c) and 4 of the altarpiece, each of these men appears in a similar posture against the background of the city wall. In fact, the bearded man on panel 3 is probably meant to represent both Theodosius and Olibrius: although he wears Theodosius' turban-like hat, his place in the pictorial sequence coincides with the written legend's comment that Olibrius was a heathen and worshipped idols (note also the imp by his throne on panel 4; cf. the Devil guiding Dymrna's father's hand in her beheading, plate 1c). Moreover, many vernacular legends of St Margaret use very similar words to describe the two.²⁸ Yet, one unnatural father, having been split into two pagans of the same sex, faith, authority and appearance, returns to his original self centuries later in the story of St Dymrna. There, her father is her suitor and he displays a striking physical resemblance to both figures of male authority, Olibrius and Theodosius, in the early sixteenth century altarpiece (plates 1a, 3).

'Detached' images of St Dymrna reflect the same process of cultural translation and appropriation. Although there is no direct mention of a demon or a dragon in her *vita*, Dymrna is increasingly depicted as standing on a chained devil and holding a cross or a sword, thus becoming virtually indistinguishable from medieval images of traditional demonomachs such as St Margaret and St Juliana, two of the three saints also recommended as role models for the female anchoritic addressees of the Katherine Group. The process must have started already in the fifteenth century. On the epitaph of Henric van Tongheren of Geel, who died in 1448, St Dymrna (to the right) not only appears instead of St Margaret in the standard iconographical triumvirate of St Catherine, the Virgin Mary and St Margaret (an image that was reproduced in the high Middle Ages hundreds of times), but also usurps her symbols – the sword and the subdued devil (plate 4).²⁹ The iconographical connection between St Margaret and St Dymrna is made explicit some



Plate 4: Memorial brass of Henric van Tongheren (died in 1448), Geel, showing The Virgin with the Child, flanked by St Catherine and St Dymphna instead of the more conventional St Margaret. © KIK-IRPA, Brussels

fifty years later in the Holy Kindred and the Trinity Triptych, made in the south Netherlands around 1510. The right-hand-side wing of the triptych, reproduced on plate 5, depicts the wife of the patron, Countess Margarethe von Merode-Petershem, kneeling with a book and accompanied by St Margaret, who emerges from a weasel-like dragon, and St Dymphna, who pierces a chained demon with her cruciform sword. This juxtaposition is surely not accidental: on the one hand, the de Merode family owned and effectively ran St Dymphna's church between 1484 and 1601, when the cult grew most speedily and became associated with the cure of lunatics; on the other, St Margaret was a patron saint of the family, and about 40 per cent of all the de Merode daughters between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries were named after her.³⁰ It appears, therefore, that the de Merodes were deliberately coining their own private version of St Margaret in the cult of St Dymphna.

But what of demoniacs and lunatics, how does this merging of the cults result in such an unusual patronage? Marina Warner conjectured that Dymphna's patronage of madness grew from 'the affinity between mental distress and incestuous transgression'.³¹ Such an explanation, however, highlights only one aspect of the cult's formation. Madness, invisible on the surface, encompasses Dymphna from all sides.



Plate 5: The Holy Kindred and the Trinity Triptych: St Dimpna and St Margaret (Köln, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum).

Photo: © Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Marion Mennicken, rba_c018916

First of all, St Dympna's cult was influenced by those of early and well-established virgin martyrs. Although these saints, such as St Margaret and St Juliana, were pursued and persecuted by human, male agency, they knew that their real fight was against the demonic powers – hence the culmination of these martyrs' legends in the saints' confrontation with the Devil in their solitary cells, and their victory over him. The understanding of the source of Dympna's father's illicit desire as demonic instigation and possession, although only briefly mentioned in the 'official' *vita*, is soon found in iconography: note the winged demon guiding the hand of the king at the execution in the 1515 altarpiece (plate 1c).³² As the legend once again returned to the vernacular for further development, the fatal blow – the only possible physical contact between the father and his saintly daughter – becomes the mad king's instant cure. Even the name of Dympna's father – Damon – supplied in the later vernacular tradition, is in fact simply the word 'demon' (*demon* in Dutch, *Dämon* in German and *démon* in French). Thus, her victory is over both her possessed father and the Devil, and she is therefore entitled to trample *der Dämon*/Damon down, just as St Catherine tramples down her persecutor, Maxentius,

and St Margaret the devilish dragon. At the same time, in the 'incestuous father' romances the king sometimes grows contrite and undertakes a pilgrimage to do penance for wronging his daughter. His aim is to obtain an absolution from a saint or an important ecclesiastic, such as a bishop or the Pope.³³ But Dymrna, being a saint herself, is capable of healing and absolving her father after his 'pilgrimage' to her. His salvation following the decapitation of his own daughter is akin to receiving salvation in the kingdom of Heaven, promised by St Margaret to her at first unwilling executioner Malchus: '*Si hoc non feceris, non habebis partem mecum in paradiso Dei*' (If you do not do this you will not have your share with me in the paradise of God).³⁴

Further contribution to the development of the cult derives from the merging of Dymrna with Margaret. The connection between St Margaret and insanity in sixteenth-century Netherlands appears to be reflected in an extraordinary way in Peter Bruegel's *Dulle Griet* (*Mad Meg*, c. 1562), where a Margaret (St Margaret?), armed with a sword, sets forth to fight demons, who are crawling away in panic, while other demons are beaten by women and tied up to cushions in the background (in the late Middle Ages, St Margaret was sometimes depicted in Dutch art as tying a demon to a cushion).³⁵ This concept of Margaret binding the powers of hell has its origins in the very beginnings of her cult, in the eighth century. In the Middle Ages Margaret was regularly considered to be particularly efficient against demonic possessions, and her life was sometimes used as a rough guide for exorcism.³⁶

Dymrna's eremitic status also contributed to her efficiency as a spiritual protector against insanity, which was believed to have been caused by demonic possession.³⁷ First of all, it is solitude and enclosure that give a saint the power to overcome the evil one. Hermits were often credited with special powers to fight against the Devil; Margaret and Juliana confront the Devil in their forced enclosure, their cells of solitary confinement. Another famous solitary much favoured by our own scholarly community, Julian of Norwich, also has to battle the Devil in her cell; she fails temporarily only to win permanently.³⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that the Archdeacon, the main character of Charles Williams's *War in Heaven* (1930), reads Julian's book in anticipation of his final, most dreadful and Satan-inspired ordeal.

Furthermore, the story of St Dymrna is originally told by the survivor: her father's fool, who accompanied the fugitive princess to the Continent and witnessed her exploits (see plate 1b) and later became her 'voice' – a peculiar mutation of the 'female anchoress and her male scribe' situation, where the scribe acts as 'a hyphen in the tale between the sacred exemplum and the fairytale romance'.³⁹ Although the fool had no formal authority over his mistress, it was he who advised her to assume the identity of a minstrel, of a court jester (his own kind), in the flight from her unnatural father's royal city to the safety of the wooded countryside near Antwerp. The authority of the jester as the original narrator is also present in the thirteenth-century vernacular lives of St Margaret, and of other saints in the conventional 'minstrel's prologue';⁴⁰ in the legend of St Dymrna, compiled from vernacular sources in the same period, this authority is reconsidered and is better integrated into the narrative. No 'classic' hagiographer would ever dream of employing such a dubious, even scandalous figure as a foolish jester for his reserved narrative, but here, in this most incongruous and almost monstrous story of incest and madness, he is a natural storyteller. St Dymrna, assuming the identity of a fool in order to preserve her Christian

ways, herself becomes a fool for Christ's sake, a holy lunatic, whose insanity, turned towards the world, disguises the wisdom of God within.⁴¹

In classical stories incest usually results in violent death or metamorphosis, often into animal shape.⁴² Dymrna's murder by her father is a substitute for incest (one may even be tempted to read his sword as the phallic symbol), but a certain metamorphosis of the heroine is also suggested by her cross-dressing. Her fool's attire, crowned with a cap sprouting ass's ears, is akin to the filthy hide of the Donkey Skin princess, who escaped her incestuous father. The fugitive is marginalized both geographically and socially. She is not only cast out of her only defence – her immediate family – but also from her high social position, secured by birth, to the lowly, marginal and dubious profession of the jester or fool. This makes her unlike St Margaret, who in a similar situation is given to sheep-tending, a more appropriate and safe occupation for a virgin.

Interest in incest-driven stories continued in early modern literature, growing stronger through time – just like the cult of St Dymrna.⁴³ Shakespeare was no exception: it is enough to recall *Pericles* or *Hamlet*.⁴⁴ As his career evolved, Shakespeare grew increasingly fascinated with and indebted to the Middle Ages.⁴⁵ Interesting echoes of the outcast child/unnatural father theme are found in *As You Like It*, composed by 1600. There, Rosalind runs away into the wild woods to escape from an inexplicable hatred of her blood relative (a father figure?), accompanied by her cousin, the only daughter of the widowed duke, and the court fool. The fool does not appear in Shakespeare's source, Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynde or, Euphues' Golden Legacy*, written 1586–7 and published 1590, so the poet must have borrowed the figure of Touchstone from elsewhere. The threat of incest is present, however, in Lodge's *Rosalynde*, when Alinda, disguised as Aliena, narrowly escapes being presented as a sexual trophy to her father, King Torismond ('a great lecher'), by a band of forest robbers.⁴⁶ One of the foci of Shakespeare's play is distorted family relations: the unnaturalness of a brother's hatred, demonstrated in the Duke-Frederick/Duke Senior and Oliver/Orlando⁴⁷ pairs and the unnaturalness of Celia/Duke Frederick's unlikeness to each other. Robert Schwartz comments:

More so than his source in Lodge (and the less proximate *Tale of Gamelyn*) Shakespeare asks the question, 'What is a proper family?' In spirit some families, as Le Beau tells Orlando, cannot be said to exist:

Orlando:

Which of the two was daughter to the Duke . . . ?

Le Beau:

Neither his daughter, if we judge by manners. (I, ii, 261–6)⁴⁸

The answer to this question that the story of St Dymrna gives is even more obvious: the spiritual family is the only real one, whereas the natural family may easily turn 'unnatural'. The jealousy of Dymrna's father towards Gerebernus is not ungrounded: to Dymrna, the old priest occupies the position of paternal (or patriarchal) authority, by silencing her answer to the king and speaking for her instead.⁴⁹

Being both her spiritual father and grandfather (he acted as her late mother's confessor), Gerebernus enjoys the virgin's spiritual love which her 'natural' father would like to claim for himself, but at the physical level. Orlando, however, feels an urge, in Schwartz's

words, to 'defend his family loyalty' on several occasions. Schwartz cites his words in I, i, 65–6: 'the spirit of my father grows strong in me' and explains that 'in the benevolent and nurturing laboratory of nature, all men have found the spirit of their "father" – . . . the "holy spirit" – and thus their social and true Christian selves'.⁵⁰ In the same way, Dymrna's true father is God the Father; her true bridegroom is his son, Christ.

Incest was also perceived to be one of the indications of tyranny, an unnatural state:⁵¹ as monarchs, they are 'quite unfit', to use Tom Lehrer's witty comment on Oedipus.⁵² Duke Frederick is a usurper and a tyrant, in the same way that Dymrna's father is a tyrant. Orlando discovers the connection between the distortion of authority in the family and in the state when he comments on the two unnatural relatives: 'Thus must I from the smoke into the smother, / From tyrant Duke unto a tyrant brother' (I, ii, 272–3). Yet, the conversion and contrition of an incestuous father is possible, and even expected, since most of the fathers in the relevant romances repent in the end. This may be the reason why later editors of the legend of St Dymrna felt it appropriate to add the king's remorse and conversion. In romance, the conversion nearly always takes place in a religious context, and sometimes leads to the former tyrant's new, ecclesiastical career. In the mid-fourteenth-century French romance *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, Emperor Antoine, having lost his daughter Hélène as she fled him, terrified, becomes a preacher, converts Bavaria to Christianity, and stops a local king from marrying his own child – a sin he himself nearly committed.⁵³ The contrite father of a thirteenth-century German romance, *Mai und Beafloer*, becomes a hermit. In light of this tradition, the religious transformation of Duke Frederick – a former tyrant, usurper and unnatural brother and father – into a hermit is not at all implausible, nor is the spiritual rebirth of Oliver.

Finally, the association between love and madness became commonplace long before Shakespeare. Madness caused by love often drives its sufferers into a wilderness, where it is either satisfied or cured, as Rosalind promises Orlando at the end of act III (ii). A *Midsummer Night's Dream*, exploring the themes of love and madness in the forest, features the unnatural passion of Titania for the natural fool, Bottom, metamorphosed into an ass. Similarly, the forest is the place where Dymrna's father's love-madness is healed by his daughter-turned-fool, crowned with ass's ears.

The conversion of an incestuous father does not lead to any harsh penitence, because he has already been redeemed by his daughter's sufferings. While male heroes of medieval romance, or similar genres, are usually active in their adventures, fighting monsters or other knights, often in the wilderness, female protagonists almost inevitably have things done to them, and all they are expected to do is to suffer and endure. Even Dymrna is given a voice of her own only after Gerebernus is executed by her father. Shakespeare, however, allows Rosalind to break the mould of the passive heroine to whom things are done. She still cross-dresses, still becomes disinherited, marginalized and cast out into the wild woods, and still lacks the active adventures of the medieval Gamelyn; yet for the first time, her inner adventure is displayed to the public as she is put in charge of her own destiny and is given a voice. Indeed, Rosalind's is the longest female part in all of Shakespeare's plays, perhaps even the strongest voice of all Shakespearean characters – an autonomy her ancestor, Dymrna, could not dream about.

It is tempting to suggest that Dymrna's story was known to Shakespeare; this is not impossible, although there is insufficient evidence to prove it. St Dymrna was little known in medieval England; her *vita* appeared too late to be included in the *Legenda Aurea* and

it does not appear in *Nova Legenda Anglie*.⁵⁴ She is mentioned in the litany of the early fifteenth-century Neville Hours, use of Sarum, made in or near York (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Liturg. f. 2), but this may be due to Continental influences as the manuscript was illuminated by two Flemish artists.⁵⁵ The only English version of Dymrna's life that I am aware of is found on pages 43–9 of London, British Library, MS Stowe 53, a collection of *vitae* entitled *The Lives of Women Saints of Our Contrie of England*.⁵⁶ This appears to be the first vernacular version of the saint's life (French and Dutch versions appeared only after it was retold in *Flos sanctorum*, first published in Madrid in 1624).⁵⁷ The manuscript dates to the very early seventeenth century, and is likely to have been copied from a lost original.⁵⁸ The compilation itself must have been produced after 1594, since the *Life of St Ursula*, which appears in it, is based on the work of Hermann Fleien, published in that year. Given the extant manuscript's immaculate presentation using different fonts, marginal notes, headlines and indexes, it may have been prepared for the press – or, indeed, printed in a number of copies in London or on the Continent for the use of English Catholics, none of which survived. If that is the case, Shakespeare could have seen the *vita* shortly before completing *As You Like It*.

The post-medieval period was not particularly successful for the majority of popular medieval saints, whose cults were in decline, especially in northern Europe, but this did not seem to affect Dymrna. In the early modern period, more images of her were produced and more decorations made for her shrine (as attested by the images provided by the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage of Belgium).⁵⁹ The hospital at Geel which adopted Dymrna as its patron saint served a large colony of lunatics from the sixteenth century onwards. There the insane were treated unusually, in comparison to the practices customary in the early modern period: instead of being locked up in a prison-like institution, they were given shelter in the homes of the locals, they participated in local agricultural labours and they were treated very kindly.⁶⁰ The treatment produced such good results that the hospice was taken over by the state in 1850, and is still successful as a large general hospital offering a wide range of services (in 1879 it nearly became the home of Vincent van Gogh). From the nineteenth century, St Dymrna found a secure footing in the United States: there are two national shrines dedicated to her, and a number of hospitals named after her or containing depictions of her, which is rather unusual for such an obscure saint. Recently, the saint and her original hospital at Geel were affectionately mentioned by Jonathan Aurthur in his account of his teenage son's mental illness. He implied that such an environment and treatment could have saved, or at least eased, the youth's life.⁶¹ Dymrna House in Sydney, Australia was until very recently – and very appropriately – the seat of the Child Sexual Assault Counselling and Resource Centre. St Dymrna is mentioned on a number of websites, from orthodox Christian to new age. The most popular modern image of her seems to be a contemporary icon that shows her with flaming hair, a peculiar iconographic mixture of asceticism and madness. In the twenty-first century, increasingly interested in everything deviant, the saint for the insane became the insane saint.⁶²

To be sure, the 'life' and the 'afterlife' of St Dymrna's story are not limited to the eremitic spiritual tradition, but the same can be said with certainty about any other personality or text produced and consumed in an anchorhold – even such iconic ones as the Katherine Group or Julian of Norwich. However, almost every element in St Dymrna's legend, when read with a broad cultural perspective, inevitably brings us back to the themes of the present volume: withdrawal from the world (often at one's own, rather than

an institutional, initiative); resistance to the family; fighting with the Devil (either in solitude or within a narrow circle of like-minded associates); self-modelling according to established literary personae; and behaviour considered by the majority as madness, but in fact being the only sane choice for one seeking spiritual perfection in a post-lapsarian society. It is this latter idea that makes Dympna uncanny – uncomfortably foreign yet so familiar: an *unheimliche* ('un-home-ly') girl, a stranger in her own home, yet a welcomed citizen in the 'blissed company of hevyn'.⁶³

Notes

¹ Also called Dimpna or Dimna of Geel.

² The history of the cult and the church at Geel can be found in P. D. Kuyl, *Geel vermaerd door den eerdienst der Heilige Dimpna. Geschied- en oudsheidskundige beschryving der kerken, gestichten en kapellen dier oude vryheid* (Antwerp: J. -E. Buschmann, 1863). Also, Revd John O'Hanlon's section on Dympna in his *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. 5 (Dublin, London, New York: James Duffy and Sons, 1873–1923), pp. 284–374 remains a gold mine of information on the saint, despite the naivety of his suggestions and judgements.

³ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, St Dympna, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05221b.htm>, accessed 14 October 2012. This information is given differently in the Bollandists' edition of the saint's *acta* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Curante Novissima, eds J. Carnandet et al. [Paris: Palme, 1863–75], Maius, III, pp. 487–8, hereafter AASS): 'supra pectus Virginis est repertus later rubeus, in quo erat hoc scriptum: *Hic jacet sancta Virgo & Martyr Dympna*' ('over the Virgin's breast a red brick has been found, upon which the following was inscribed: *Here lies Dympna, virgin and martyr*'). However, the English version of the Life of St Dympna, found in the early modern collection of female native saints which names Peter of Cambrai as its source (p. 43), supports the version with the brick that shows only the name: 'the bishop found in the brest of the Virgins bodie, a red stone, hauing this inscription, "DYM PNA": Carl Horstmann (ed.), *The Lives of Women Saints of our Contrie of England*, EETS OS 86 (London: Trübner, 1886), pp. 48–9. Dominique Kuyl produces a drawing of the stone, on which the inscription appears as NA/ DĪPN: *Geel vermaerd*, p. 58; the same stone enclosed in a reliquary is depicted after p. 156; drawings and dimensions of the sarcophagus appear on pp. 60–1.

⁴ 'I have rendered from the vulgar speech into Latin idiom', AASS, p. 479.

⁵ 'whom the King passionately adored', AASS, p. 480. John Colgan, a seventeenth-century Irish antiquarian and hagiographer, was the first to suggest that the Belgian saint is the same as St Damhnat, a virgin of Sliabh Beagh, one of the early Irish saints whose *acta* did not survive. This identification has, however, been more recently rejected: B. O'Daly, 'St Damhnat', *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological Society*, 11, 4 (1948), 243–51.

⁶ 'pining away with unnecessary grief for her . . . in the spirit of rage and madness', AASS, p. 480.

⁷ 'under the guise of a jester', AASS, p. 481.

⁸ The region of Antwerp seems to be rich in incest-driven hagiography: an unusual version of St John of Beverley's life (found in Dutch chapbook *Historie van Jan van Beverley* [Brussels, 1512], in which he raped and murdered his sister, also originates from the same area: see Alan Deighton, 'Julian of Norwich's knowledge of the life of John of Beverley', *Notes and Queries*, 40 (1993), 440–3.

⁹ 'you adhere to the senile decrepit priest like a daughter, and obey him in all his commands', AASS, p. 483.

¹⁰ The history of the building is given in Kuyl, *Geel vermaerd*, pp. 108–18; on de Merode patronage see *ibid.*, pp. 134–8, and pp. 158ff.

¹¹ O'Hanlon, *The Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol. 5, p. 293. Paul Vandenbroeck in his recent report suggested that Dympna herself was a Christian reworking of the Celtic goddess Damona: *Goswin*

- Van der Weyden's Late Medieval Cycle of Paintings Representing the Life of St. Dymphna. A Study into the Psycho-archaeology of a Flemish Saint* (Antwerpen: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2008), pp. 23–31.
- ¹² The history of St Dymphna's relics is outlined in L. van Craywinckel, *De triumpheerende suyverheydt. Het leven, martelie ende mirakelen vande H. maeght ende martelaresse Dymphna* . . . (2nd edn; Mechelen: Robert Iaye, 1658).
- ¹³ AASS, pp. 489–96.
- ¹⁴ Reproduced in Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde* (London: Vintage, 1995), p. 341.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 340.
- ¹⁶ On the themes of flight and incest, see Elizabeth Archibald, 'The flight from incest: two late classical precursors of the Constance theme', *The Chaucer Review*, 20, 4 (1986), 259–72; *eadem*, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), pp. 145–91; Marina Warner, 'The wronged daughter: aspects of Cinderella', *Grand Street*, 7, 3 (1988), 143–63. More general outlines of relevant folkloric themes can be found in Anna Birgitta Rooth, *The Cinderella Cycle* (New York: Arno Press, 1980) and Alan Dundes (ed.), *Cinderella: A Casebook* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). For the early discussion of the subject, see Marian Roafle Cox, *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap o' Rushes* (London: Folk-lore Society, 1893).
- ¹⁷ Incest does appear in the margins of hagiography: Elizabeth Archibald mentions that several Irish saints were said to be children begotten in incest, in *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, p. 184, n. 81. However, a 1568 play *Rappresentazione di Santa Uliva*, based on a fifteenth-century Italian poem and following the 'Flight from the incestuous father' plot, is really a romance and not at all a piece of hagiography: see its synopsis in Archibald's *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, pp. 255–6. More recent variations on the same theme are found in Michèle Roberts's novel *Impossible Saints* (London: Vintage, 1998).
- ¹⁸ On the development of Apollonius' story, see Elizabeth Archibald's *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, pp. 53–103.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 96–7.
- ²⁰ *The Canterbury Tales*, 'The Man of Law's Tale', 2: 81–5; John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, ed. Russell A. Peck, with Latin translations by Andrew Galloway (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), vol. 1.
- ²¹ London, British Library, MS Harley 7333, fol. 158r–v. S. J. Herrtage (ed.), *The Gesta Romanorum*, EETS ES 33 (London: N. Trübner, 1879), p. 48.
- ²² Philippe de Remi, *Le roman de la Manekine*, ed. and trans. Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999). De Remi's text must have been influenced by a twelfth-century English text *Vita Offae Primi* possibly by Matthew of Paris: see F. J. Furnivall, *Originals and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer Society (London: Trübner, 1872), pp. 73–84 and M. Shepherd, *Tradition and Re-creation in Thirteenth-century Romance: 'La Manekine' and 'Jehan et Blonde' by Philippe de Rémi* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1990), pp. 15–16. Note that both tales are connected with Britain.
- ²³ M. Shepherd, *Tradition and Re-creation*, pp. 15–16.
- ²⁴ *Vita Offae Primi* in Furnivall, *Originals and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, pp. 77–8.
- ²⁵ Two of the earliest female martyrs, the legendary Roman women Basilissa and Anastasia, allegedly gave burial to SS Peter and Paul, and had their hands and feet cut off. AASS, April, II, p. 372.
- ²⁶ F. S. Ellis (ed.), *The Golden Legend, or Lives of the Saints, as Englished by W. Caxton*, 7 vols (London: Temple Classics, 1900), vol. 4, p. 46.
- ²⁷ The idea of a father unwittingly committing incest with his own daughter, abandoned by him in her infancy and ending up in a brothel, was familiar to the early Christian Fathers. A study of the practice of abandonment of children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance begins with a startling quotation: "'How many fathers,'" asks Clement of Alexandria, "forgetting the children they abandoned, unknowingly have sexual relations with a son who is a prostitute or a daughter become a harlot?" "Those who use the services [of prostitutes]," Justin Martyr warned,

- "may well commit incest with a child, a relative, or a sibling": cited in John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers* (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 3.
- ²⁸ Sherry L. Reames (ed.), *Middle English Legends of Women Saints* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003), p. 128.
- ²⁹ The brass is described in Kuyt, *Geel vermaerd*, p. 140, and reproduced on the next (unnumbered) page.
- ³⁰ The genealogy of the de Merode family is listed online: http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Huis_Merode, accessed 14 October 2012.
- ³¹ Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 339.
- ³² The incestuous desire of several 'romance' fathers was also ascribed to the instigation of the evil one, e.g. Jean Maillart's *Le Romane du Comte d'Anjou* (French, early fourteenth century), *La Istoria de la Fiyla del Rey d'Ungaria* (Catalan, mid-fourteenth century) and *Nouella della figlia del re di Dacia* (Italian, fifteenth century or earlier). For more examples and synopses, see Archibald's *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, pp. 246–54.
- ³³ See synopses in Archibald's *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, pp. 153–4, 246–56.
- ³⁴ Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St Margaret* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 216, 217.
- ³⁵ I am grateful to the late Dr Christa Grossinger for this information.
- ³⁶ See Juliana Dresvina, 'The cult of St Margaret of Antioch in medieval England' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2007), 170–83, and *eadem*, 'The significance of the demonic episode in the legend of St Margaret of Antioch', *Medium Ævum*, 81 (2012), 1–21.
- ³⁷ This is clearly seen in the New Testament; a useful survey of medieval explanations of and attitudes towards madness can be found in Stephen Harper, *Insanity, Individuals, and Society in Late-medieval English Literature* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 2003), pp. 29–74.
- ³⁸ Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, Long Text, chapters 14, 68, 77: see, for instance, Julian of Norwich, *Showing of Love: Extant Texts and Translation*, ed. Sister Anna Maria Reynolds, C.P. and Julia Bolton Holloway (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001), pp. 535–6, 608–9, 617–19, or Julian of Norwich, *The Writings of Julian of Norwich: 'A Vision Showed to a Devout Woman' and 'A Revelation of Love'*, ed. Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 173–5, 335–41, 363–7.
- ³⁹ Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 338.
- ⁴⁰ As in the versions printed in Karl Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im Englischen Hochmittelalter* (Munich: Fink, 1973), p. 167.
- ⁴¹ The tradition of fools for Christ's sake was more widespread in the Byzantium and the Eastern Orthodox Church. The bibliography of this subject is substantial; it is enough to name the works of Sergey A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*, trans. Simon Franklin (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); John Seward, *Perfect Fools: Folly for Christ's Sake in Catholic and Orthodox Spirituality* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Peter C. Bouteneff, "'What kind of fool am I?'" Further gleanings from holy folly', in John Behr, Andrew Louth and Dimirti Conomos (eds), *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodoxy in the West* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003), pp. 335–49; Lennart Rydén, 'The holy fools', in Sergei Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint*, special issue of *Sobornost*, 5 (1981), 106–13. However, such a form of spirituality was not altogether foreign to the medieval West. It was known partly through the popular story of St Alexis the Holy Fool, which was reproduced in numerous legends and romances, and also partly from the growing number of people who pursued religious life outside established religious institutions. Thus, English mystics Richard Rolle and Margery Kempe can in many ways be labelled Western equivalents of Eastern holy fools.
- ⁴² Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, p. 56.
- ⁴³ See, for example, Richard McCabe, *Incest, Drama, and Nature's Law 1550–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Bruce Boehrer, *Monarchy and Incest in Renaissance England: Literature, Culture, Kinship, and Kingship* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

- ⁴⁴ Many more, less obvious, examples can be drawn here. For instance, in his earliest tragedy *Titus Andronicus* alone, the outcast child, the mutilation of Lavinia and Lavinia's honour-killing by her own father – as well as the self-amputation of the eponymous hero – are more subtle traces of the motif in question.
- ⁴⁵ See, for example, Helen Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the University of Cambridge, 29 April 2005* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), esp. pp. 28–31, and *eadem*, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010).
- ⁴⁶ Edmund Gosse (ed.), *Rosalynde. Euphues' Golden Legacie*, in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*, 4 vols (1883; New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), vol. 1, fol. 42v.
- ⁴⁷ Oliver, following Celia's appraisal, calls himself 'unnatural' brother (IV, iii, 121–5).
- ⁴⁸ Robert Schwartz, 'Rosalynde among familists: As You Like It and an expanded view of its sources', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 20, 1 (1989), 75–6.
- ⁴⁹ 'When the virgin would haue answered him hereto, Gerebern preuented her, reprouing the king verie sharplie', etc: Horstmann (ed.), *The Lives of Women Saints of our Contrie of England*, pp. 45–6.
- ⁵⁰ Schwartz, 'Rosalynde among familists', 76.
- ⁵¹ Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination*, p. 93 and *passim*.
- ⁵² Tom Lehrer, 'Oedipus Rex', in *More of Tom Lehrer* (Lehrer Records, TL 102/102S, 1959).
- ⁵³ Interestingly, in this romance Hélène is made the mother of St Martin, by whose chapel Dymrna and Gerebernus found their abode at Geel, and of Brice, whose son, St Brice, was known to have ridiculed the Devil.
- ⁵⁴ Anne Savage is wrong in claiming that it appears in the work of Capgrave; see 'Clothing paternal incest in *The Clerk's Tale*, *Émaré* and the *Life of St Dymrna*', in Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (eds), *Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Felicity Riddy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 345–61 (p. 345).
- ⁵⁵ S. J. P. van Dijk, *Handlist of Latin Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (unpublished typescript, 1957–60), vol. 3, p. 146. One of the artists was Herman Scheerre: see Gereth M. Spriggs, 'The Neville Hours and the school of Herman Scheerre', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 104–30.
- ⁵⁶ It is printed by Horstmann in EETS OS 86, see n. 3.
- ⁵⁷ Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 338.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. v.
- ⁵⁹ Search 'Dymrna' via the institute website: <http://www.kikirpa.be/EN/9/61/Home.htm>, accessed 14 October 2012. See also plates in Kuyt, *Geel vermaerd*.
- ⁶⁰ On treatment of lunatics in the Middle Ages, see Harper, *Insanity, Individuals, and Society*, pp. 75–104. Compare Rosalind in *As You Like It*: 'Love is merely a madness, and, I tell you, / deserves as well a dark house and a whip as madmen / do' (III, ii, 381–3).
- ⁶¹ *The Angel and the Dragon: A Father's Search for Answers to his Son's Mental Illness and Suicide* (Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communications, 2002), pp. 333–4.
- ⁶² See an Orthodox-style icon by Father William McNichol, <http://puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/andre/dymphna.html>, accessed 14 October 2012.
- ⁶³ Chapter 6 of the Long Text (Julian of Norwich, *Showing of Love*, pp. 164, 521, or Watson and Jenkins (eds), *The Writings of Julian of Norwich*, p. 143).

Bridal Mysticism and the Politics of the Anchorhold: Dorothy of Montau

SIEGLINDE HARTMANN

Dorothy of Montau belongs among the most notable recluses of medieval Europe. At first sight, her case is remarkable because of the sheer fact that she became the first Prussian anchoress. Secondly, her life differs in several striking features from other medieval anchoritic women; however, her importance within the landscape of European anchoritism has yet to be explored, as Ute Stargardt states:

One medieval holy woman who remains little known even among medieval scholars is Dorothea von Montau (1347–1394), even though the many *vitae* her confessor, the theologian and Dominican canon Johannes von Marienwerder (1343–1417), composed in service of her canonization as Prussia's first native saint make her one of the most meticulously documented women saints of the later Middle Ages.¹

What, then, is so particular about the Prussian anchoress? While it is true that the main features of Dorothy's spirituality correspond to the general currents of late medieval bridal mysticism, her life is marked by characteristic differences which are either due to her personality or linked to the specific historical setting of her life in medieval Prussia. Since ignoring the particular history of Dorothy's home country leads to significant misunderstandings of her spiritual life and circumstances, it is necessary to reconstruct the life of Dorothy of Montau, her mystical aspirations and her anchoritic profession within the context of medieval Prussia in order to understand Dorothy's individual contribution to medieval bridal mysticism and anchoritism.

Medieval Prussia

The principality of medieval Prussia was founded in the thirteenth century at the north-eastern margin of Latin Christianity during the height of the Northern Crusades against Prussian and other pagan invasions from the Baltic region.² Unlike the Crusader states in the Middle East, the new European state was not founded and ruled by secular sovereigns. Instead, Emperor Frederic II and Pope Honorius III entrusted governing power to spiritual rulers, the Grand Masters of the Teutonic Knights and their military order. The

term 'Teutonic' refers to the German founders of the order. The full name of the order in Latin is *Ordo domus Sanctæ Mariæ Theutonicorum Ierosolimitanorum*, or 'Order of the German House [= hospital] of St Mary in Jerusalem'.³ The name bears testimony to the origin of the order, founded in 1190/1198 in the Holy Land as a Crusader and Hospitaller Order of knights who had to be of German birth. Their blue mantle was worn under a white tunic, charged with a black cross, a habit that is still worn by the current members of the order.

Given the crusading origin of the order, it is clear that the Pope and the emperor, as well as the neighbouring Polish rulers, chose the Teutonic Knights to meet the rising challenge in Eastern Europe: to assure a military line of defence against pagan invaders and convert the Baltic heathens to the Roman Catholic faith, thus creating a second line of spiritual defence against Russian orthodoxy. Established by the imperial Golden Bull of Rimini in 1226, and confirmed by the papal Golden Bull of Rieti in 1234, the monastic state and its Teutonic Knights successfully fulfilled their double mission during the following 150 years.

By the time Dorothy of Montau entered her cell in 1393, however, the Northern Crusades had come to an end. Most of the Prussians had been converted to the Roman Catholic faith and integrated into the German population, although the country adopted the name Prussia and its Christian inhabitants identified themselves as Prussians. At the same time, the majority of the other Baltic peoples, namely the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, were also Christianized. Due to its economic growth and considerable holdings within the Holy Roman Empire, the newly created Prussia had become one of the most prosperous and powerful principalities of Latin Christendom. The Teutonic Order State covered a territory stretching from the Polish Duchy of Pomerania to the border of Estonia. In its largest extension at the end of the fourteenth century, its sphere of influence embraced the whole Baltic region. It thus maintained a military and spiritual border against Novgorod and other Russian orthodox states.

The rapidly growing population of the Teutonic Order State mainly consisted of settlers from German-speaking countries, farmers within the vast plains, craftsmen and merchants in the flourishing urban centres. Although economic power was essentially concentrated in the cities, with Danzig emerging as the main port in Prussia and the entire Baltic Sea, the Teutonic Order established its spiritual centres of power in newly created bishoprics at a careful distance from the urban centres of their realm.

The main bishopric of the order state was not, therefore, established in Danzig, but some twenty kilometres south of the city at Marienwerder, a former island in the large delta of the Vistula River. Its German name means 'St Mary's Island', revealing its dedication to the principal patron of the order. When the knights decided in 1309 to transfer their headquarters from Venice to their state in northern Europe, they chose a nearby place to build their castle which they likewise named after their patron: 'St Mary's Castle', in German 'Marienburg'. Even in its present state the castle bears an impressive testimony to the power and wealth of the medieval Teutonic Order State in Prussia. It is no wonder that settlers such as Dorothy's father emigrated in such a great number to the new promised land in Europe, even though it was a monastic state founded on the principles of Christian asceticism.

In order to understand Dorothy's mystical aspirations we must take account of specific features of the order's spirituality and religious life: a fervent veneration of the Virgin

Mary; a special liturgy that allowed Holy Communion only on seven feast days a year; a reluctance for the anchoritic profession because of a fatal prophecy in the founding age of the order state;⁴ and an unwillingness to tolerate other orders within their state. As Ute Stargardt states, it is clear from documentary evidence that the order firmly 'suppressed the establishment of other convents by papal sanction to prevent rival institutions from challenging their own spiritual over-lordship in Prussia'.⁵ In addition, mystical aspirations were incompatible with the military and missionary tasks of a crusading order such as the ruling Teutonic Knights.

Consequently, for most of her life, Dorothy lacked institutional support for her spiritual life from the Dominicans, who were so influential in late medieval feminine spirituality and so supportive of German visionaries within the Holy Roman Empire. Instead, in Danzig, Dorothy had to get along with a confessor who, although admittedly Dominican, was unable to assure her of institutional support from the order, or an understanding of bridal mysticism and therefore of her mystical life. Nevertheless, at the time of her widowhood, the same Danzig confessor transferred her to the episcopal see at Marienwerder. There, at God's behest, as she firmly believed, Dorothy entrusted herself to the authority of the priest and cathedral canon Johannes Marienwerder, a doctor in theology whose writings reveal a profound knowledge of bridal mysticism. In fact, the canon immediately recognized in Dorothy an 'elected bride' in whom

the Lord . . . has renewed . . . his merciful, miraculous deeds, for the world as an improvement, for himself as praise and honor and for those grown cold in his love as kindling so that he may be esteemed and honored greatly in her. To those who do so, God has promised rich rewards.⁶

Evidently, Johannes Marienwerder wanted to be among the first to get the promised rewards when he took over the role of Dorothy's confessor and advisor, and tried to ensure that her spiritual career would come to its due fulfilment in an ultimate mystical union with her divine bridegroom. The Prussian canon therefore won the support of the provost of the Marienwerder cathedral chapter, a doctor in canon law named Johannes Rymann (c.1350–1417), and together they carried out all examinations prescribed by the church before the final act of reclusion. Apparently, both men conducted the questioning and took down written notes of what Dorothy revealed about her spiritual life, her experiences, auditions and visions. However, none of these notes survive. Instead, only the writings published after her death and explicitly ascribed to Johannes Marienwerder have come down to us.

It is, therefore, Johannes Marienwerder who is rightly considered as the author of what is known as Dorothy's writings in German: 'Dorotheenschriftum'.⁷ Consequently, it proves extremely difficult to determine whether Dorothy really experienced the events and revelations of her life in the way her confessor describes them. Several circumstances suggest that we have to be cautious of taking the description at face value.

It seems highly probable that Dorothy was illiterate. Several prayers, songs and one letter to her daughter in German are ascribed to her, but she may have dictated them.⁸ Moreover, there is no indication whatsoever that Dorothy would have kept written records of her life prior to Johannes Marienwerder's notes. Her Marienwerder confessor, however, knew her only for the last three years of her life. It is striking that Johannes did not structure any of his Latin books of Dorothy's life in chronological order. Instead, the learned

theologian preferred thematic arrangements or he followed patterns of religious life, such as the feast days of the liturgy. In addition, all scholars have observed that in the German version of Dorothy's life Johannes follows chronology only roughly. More often, he structures the chapters thematically. Besides this, the author mainly sums up and translates what he had composed in his earlier and more detailed Latin *vita*. From a literary point of view, the medieval genres of mystical and hagiographical texts are constantly mingled in the vernacular *vita*, at some times stressing Dorothy's miraculous deeds, at others the revelations of Dorothy's mystical experiences with her heavenly bridegroom. Therefore, in characterizing Dorothy's life and spiritual career, we have to bear in mind that the chronology must be deduced from several of Marienwerder's writings and that the description of both her religious practices and her mystical experiences are shaped by theological interpretation. Finally, although I will concentrate on the German text,⁹ it will be difficult, if not impossible, to perceive Dorothy's own voice, because Marienwerder renders more the details of her auditions than her own reactions to God's words.

The life and spiritual career of Dorothy of Montau

From a biographical point of view, Dorothy's forty-seven years can be divided into the following phases:

- 1347–63: Dorothy's childhood and youth in the countryside near Marienwerder (Johannes Marienwerder, *Das Leben*, Book I, chapter 1–20),
- 1363–90: her married life lasting from the age of seventeen through her forty-fourth year in the city of Danzig (Johannes Marienwerder, *Das Leben*, Book I, chapter 21–33 and Book II, chapter 1–36),
- 1390–3: a short period of widowhood before her reclusion (Johannes Marienwerder, *Das Leben*, Book II, chapter 37),
- 2 May 1393–25 June 1394: the final phase of her life that she spent as first Prussian anchoress in her cell at the cathedral of Marienwerder (Johannes Marienwerder, *Das Leben*, Book III, all forty-four chapters).

The written record of Dorothy's life as it was composed by her confessor, however, follows a different order. As Petra Hörner has shown, the first three books of the German *vita* represent three stages of her spiritual career, culminating in the period of Dorothy's reclusion within the cell at Marienwerder Cathedral.¹⁰ The fourth book, containing excerpts from the *Septililium*, sums up in a systematic way the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit granted to her during her lifetime. While the first three books of 'the life of the blessed Dorothy' should serve as a 'living lesson' for all inhabitants of Prussia,¹¹ the final book fulfils the doxological purpose of praising the Lord, as Johannes had put it in the words of his proem quoted above.

Another significant characteristic of Dorothy's *vita* is that the three stages of Dorothy's spiritual career do not really match the three traditional stages – *purgatio*, *illuminatio* and

unio – of a medieval mystic's way to the Godhead. In the first book, the descriptions of Dorothy's sufferings are the dominant topic. In Book II, however, experiences of bridal mysticism become the main theme, crowned by the final stage of *unio mystica* with her divine bridegroom, depicted in great detail in Book III. Johannes Marienwerder seems to have chosen this structure to highlight Dorothy's lifelong devotion to God's love and to illuminate Christ's Passion as an example to be followed by 'all inhabitants of Prussia'.¹² Indeed, Dorothy of Montau was to represent a new type of saint for the Teutonic Order. In addition, her confessor knew how to dramatize the specific exterior and interior events that marked her life.

Before presenting examples of Dorothy's outstanding experiences, it is helpful to consider the style her confessor uses to suit both his own purposes and the expectations of his native countrymen to whom he explicitly dedicated this book. He opens Dorothy's life history with these words:

The above-mentioned Dorothea was born to honorable, god-fearing parents in a village called Montau in the episcopal see of Pomerania in Prussia [i.e. in the diocese of Marienwerder]. Her father's name was Wilhelm, a man of honorable life. Her mother, named Agatha, was a widow for more than forty-four years after her husband's death. As a result of the charitable works she performed day and night for the poor as best as she could in his service, Agatha offered God an honorable life of many years and virtuous deeds. She gave birth to four sons and five daughters who were so prolific that she was grandmother to fifty grandchildren who all lived honorable, prominent, and praiseworthy lives. Among her own children Dorothea was the seventh, a prophecy and portent of her endowment with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the perfection of her entire life for which she was destined from birth, confirmed in baptism, and which she initiated when she was seven years old. [Her baptism] took place on the feast day of St Dorothea after Candlemas, so the young branch showed early what fruit the tree would bear.¹³

The opening chapter clearly reveals the extent to which Johannes Marienwerder shapes the biographical facts to construct the idea of Dorothy's divine predestination for sainthood. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that Dorothy did experience what her biographer calls her initiation into the spiritual life at the age of seven. What, in fact, really happened to the child? Her confessor refers to this event several times in the vernacular *vita* and also in his Latin version. The reports differ slightly in regard to the person who caused the incident. The first time Johannes only alludes to it in general terms: 'When the blessed Dorothea was seven years old, carelessness caused her to be scalded all over her body with boiling water to such a degree that her mother, greatly tormented by compassion, had to nurse the child in a cradle.'¹⁴ At other times the confessor says that it was a careless maid who had caused the accident. In spite of these differences, Johannes claims that it was through this accident that the child experienced for the first time the 'mercies' of God's 'comforting presence . . . so that from that time forward she never experienced a waning but a steady waxing of her virtuous life'.¹⁵

In a later chapter of the first book, Johannes suggests that from then on Dorothy started to torture herself with self-inflicted wounds.¹⁶ In chapter fifteen, we read the following description of her self-castigations:

What a conqueror she became over her body through God's love anyone may hear and marvel about, for she flagellated her body often with rods, whips, thistles, thorny branches, and with

hard, knotty, barbed scourges. Also, as she reached the age of seven, she often burned herself with boiling water and from time to time with red hot iron and burning candles. At times she injured and wounded various parts of her body with boiling hot oil, mainly her shoulders, arms, hips, sides, loins, knees, calves and feet. With such devices she inflicted one wound beside the other from her shoulders down to the hems of her sleeves and from the hips upward as far as her clothes covered her body. And she treated her breasts in the same way until all these individual wounds looked like one single big wound and her body resembled a plowed field. She initiated her self-castigations with such instruments in her youth and continued them even after she was married, practicing them both day and night.¹⁷

But this is not the end of his account. Throughout the *vita*, Johannes adds still more horrible details of self-castigations although he is well aware of the fact that the 'aforementioned self-mortifications are difficult to listen to . . . and may seem scarcely or not believable to those who enjoy the life of the body'.¹⁸ Marienwerder explains the incredible amount of self-castigations by God's omnipotence and his divine love for her. As for Dorothy, her reasons are twofold: first, her love of God; secondly, because 'her need to suffer the pains of the crucified God forced her to renew these wounds to add suffering to suffering'.¹⁹

Although Johannes Marienwerder often mentions Dorothy's seventh year as the beginning of her spiritual life, it never becomes clear at what time Dorothy's love of God turned into a mature stage of bridal mysticism. For a modern reader it therefore comes as a surprise when the author suddenly starts to characterize Dorothy's relation to God as that of a spiritual love between bride and bridegroom. This occurs in chapter seventeen of the first book, a chapter which demonstrates that Dorothy's mature love brought her even greater sufferings. This stage must therefore be regarded as the major part of her martyrdom:

Because she, wounded with the sword of God's love and his bitter martyrdom, subjugated her tender body so fiercely to her spirit through such self-castigations the dear Lord Jesus Christ, her bridegroom, also wished to impress his own marks on her as symbols of their inseparable love and therefore also wounded her on her shoulders, arms, chest and back; on her shoulder blades, sides, calves, and knees.²⁰

Yet, in another chapter of the same book, Johannes Marienwerder characterizes these wounds as stigmatic and calls it a 'miracle that on Easter day her wounds burst open and bled so profusely as though they were being formed anew'.²¹

Besides this constant renewal of her wounds, Dorothy's martyrdom was aggravated by exaggerated performances of spiritual exercises such as vigils, prostrations and fasting, and by her self-humiliation in performing charitable works for the poor. Johannes Marienwerder also devotes several chapters to describing the sufferings Dorothy had to endure during the 'twenty six and a half years' of her married life.²² For example, in chapter twenty-eight of the first book, Johannes writes:

Adalbert, her husband, was a choleric man, by natural inclination and also because of his arthritis. As long as his wife, the blessed Dorothea, fulfilled his wishes, he was favourably disposed toward her serving God diligently before dinnertime as she wished and was able . . . Because of this and

other good works she constantly performed in love of God, her husband at one time became furious and threatened her: 'If you don't cease your wandering about and see to the care of your household with greater effort than you have done so far, I shall tame you with shackles and chains'. Then his rage overwhelmed him. For three days he kept the honourable housewife Dorothea fettered and in chains, a prisoner in his house. But she interposed the spiritual shield of patience and thus deflected the grim volleys, strokes of anger, and curses and endured them without complaint or counter argument so that her husband, mistaking her holy patience and silence for defiance and arrogance, severely beat her on the head with a chair. All of this she endured for both their sakes with great patience and suffered it gladly for in that very temptation God did not abandon her without comfort but internally pacified her mind beyond temporal sweetness.²³

Marienwerder's commentary makes it clear why marriage became an important part of Dorothy's earthly martyrdom. Nevertheless, to fully understand why the author calls Dorothy's marriage 'praiseworthy' and therefore compares it to the examples of St Elizabeth of Hungary and St Hedwig,²⁴ we must realize that through her marriage Dorothy of Montau considerably improved her social status.

As Johannes mentions, Dorothy's husband Adalbert was 'an honorable, clever artisan, rich enough to his state'.²⁵ Other testimonies suggest that Adalbert was a wealthy armourer who could afford a house on the market place, the most prestigious area of the city of Danzig. Knowing Adalbert's social status and wealth, one can better understand why it was so praiseworthy that the married Dorothy despised worldly pleasures like banqueting and dancing, and that she preferred voluntary poverty to luxury of food and clothing.²⁶ Only from the knowledge of Dorothy's actual social and economic circumstances does it become clear why her confessor praises so highly her 'miraculous strength', her 'manful heart' and the 'wise purchase' she engaged in 'when she bartered corporeal goods in exchange for spiritual goods, earthly goods for heavenly goods to possess eternal instead of temporal treasures!'.²⁷ For the same reasons Dorothy's sufferings and self-castigations acted as a 'steady source of spiritual discipline',²⁸ with the effect that 'God would increase her suffering and its rewards', as Marienwerder claims.²⁹

What kind of rewards did God grant St Dorothy for such extreme devotion? In the second half of Book I, Johannes of Marienwerder repeatedly mentions her spiritual rewards in general terms. For example, he states that 'blessed' Dorothy had been granted 'spiritual foretastes of heavenly bliss', that she enjoyed 'the pleasures of her heavenly bridegroom' and that God entertained 'a sweet dalliance with her soul' or that she experienced 'the spiritual sweetness' in frequent ecstasies.³⁰ But the confessor does not describe any of Dorothy's spiritual experiences with her divine bridegroom until he gets to the second book.

Instead, Johannes ends the first book with several accounts of Dorothy's married life until she reached her thirty-eighth year when her marriage entered a new phase. After the birth of her ninth and last child, both husband and wife agreed to abstain from conjugal activities. Some time later, when 'all their children but one daughter had died, they sold their house and all household goods . . . to serve God with unencumbered spirits'.³¹ Together they left for a year-long pilgrimage to 'Our dear Lady's church in Aix', the city of Aachen, some thousand kilometres west from Danzig in Germany. From there, the couple travelled three times to another chapel of Our Dear Lady in Einsiedeln (Switzerland), 'so

as to knit thrice the tight knot that tied her to the service of Mary'.³² In fact, Dorothy seems to have regarded the Mother of Christ as the personal 'protectress of her and her family'; at least that is how Marienwerder describes her special devotion for the mother of mercy.³³

Considering what follows in the second book, a modern critic might assume that Dorothy's learned hagiographer would like his audience to believe that Dorothy's soul was now sufficiently purged to enter the second grade of spiritual illumination. In fact, her confessor begins the second book with the description of a spectacular event, the miraculous exchange of her heart performed by God himself on 25 January 1385 during a Mass at Our Lady's Church in Danzig. Although the exchange of the heart is a topos in hagiographic writing, Johannes Marienwerder takes great care to explain how this singular event took place and that this 'merciful deed' belonged to the kind foretold by the words of the prophet Ezekiel: 'I will give you a new heart and put a new spirit into you and will bring about that you walk in my commandments and uphold and protect them' (Ezekiel 36: 26–7).³⁴ He writes:

It happened in the thirty-ninth year of her life in the tenth year before her death within eight days of the holy day of Candlemas [February 2]. She experienced severe longing and desire for the glorious holy body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which she had prepared herself to receive with great diligence.³⁵

It is important to remember that Holy Communion was restricted to seven times a year within the order state and that the celebration of the Eucharist was a highlight in the religious life of Prussian Christians. Marienwerder's detailed description of the circumstances preceding the miraculous exchange of Dorothy's heart during the Mass is therefore very convincing. As usual, Dorothy had come very early and was kneeling before the high altar reciting fifty Ave Marias when people entered the church:

A great press ensued, for a large crowd of people were jostling each other to get as close as possible to the high altar to witness the holy body of Our Lord to be raised. This commotion forced her to continue her prayer in praise of the honoured Virgin Mary standing up. As she continued her requests during the silent Mass, Our Lord Jesus, her mighty lover, came, pulled out her old heart, and pushed into its place a new, hot one. The blessed Dorothea felt very well that her old heart was being extracted and that in place of that heart an extremely hot piece of flesh was shoved into her. In receiving this piece of flesh or new heart she experienced such rapture and joy that she could never truly relate it to anyone.³⁶

To justify his knowledge about the impact and meaning of this miraculous renewal of Dorothy's heart, Johannes Marienwerder explains that Dorothy herself had been fully instructed about this rapture only through a revelation granted to her by the Lord in the last year of her life. Since she confided parts of this revelation to him, Marienwerder cites them in his description of the event, in order to confirm that the renewal of Dorothy's heart 'not only took place spiritually but physically as well': she 'immediately changed into a different person'; God had pulled her soul 'into eternal life for the first time', and she experienced a mystical union in 'overflowing love' when she 'felt how the Lord Jesus Christ embraced and kissed her soul'.³⁷

In addition, the Marienwerder canon declares that the blessed Dorothy 'was at once illuminated in her rapture and well instructed so that she understood better and more thoroughly the life of the saints as they had lived on earth than a great learned man could have taught her in an entire year'.³⁸ Besides these hagiographical instructions, Marienwerder states that at the same time God had revealed to Dorothy knowledge of the different degrees of mystical love, which 'the Lord enumerated especially during her last year of life'.³⁹

Modern critics are not quite sure whether Dorothy had been granted the above mentioned revelations of theological matters generally inaccessible to unlearned lay persons. In fact, her confessor composed two Latin books presenting her revelations shaped in systematic order or categories. The first one, composed in 1397 and called *Liber de festis*, contains 130 chapters of Dorothy's revelations on feast days, structured in the order of the Teutonic Order's liturgy. The second book is the already-cited *Septililium venerabilis dominae Dorotheae*, composed of seven treatises about the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit bestowed on her during her whole lifetime. These earlier writings may have been the reason why Johannes omitted most of these instructions from the actual account of Dorothy's life in his German version. Instead, he fills the remaining chapters of the second book with the 'great mercies subsequently bestowed on her'.⁴⁰

Some of the specific characteristics of Dorothy's spiritual experiences before she became an anchoress at Marienwerder Cathedral are comparable to those of other women mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. First of all, her confessor repeatedly notes that Dorothy developed a fierce hunger for the Eucharist and that her wish to free herself of worldly affairs grew steadily. As for Dorothy's relations with other mystics, Johannes relates that on her second journey to Einsiedeln, she became acquainted with 'a group of spiritual people'.⁴¹ This remark could be understood as a hint of her acquaintance with the famous lay mystics of the Upper Rhineland who called themselves *Gottesfreunde* (Beloved of God).⁴² It is probable, but difficult to prove, that Dorothy had been influenced by Rhenish mystics to envision her spiritual experiences through the bridal metaphors and images from the *Canticum canticorum*, the Song of Songs.

One of her visions, however, seems to belong to her own imagination. Significantly, it is linked to the exchange of her heart, which was clearly a turning point in her spiritual life. Towards the end of Book II, Marienwerder reports that, after many instructions, God revealed to Dorothy that when he tore out her old heart, he pressed three letters into her body: the first one was black, the second red and the third pure gold. The black letter revealed all of Dorothy's sins. In the second, red letter, she read Christ's wounds and all of his sufferings. In the third, the golden one, she read the joy of the saints in eternal life.⁴³ Her confessor uses this revelation to indicate symbolically that the blessed widow now proved to be well prepared for the final stage of her life, the reclusion in the cell at Marienwerder Cathedral.

Johannes Marienwerder devotes the largest part of his vernacular Life to relating Dorothy's spiritual experiences during the fourteen months of her enclosure. According to his descriptions, her days were filled with prayers, meditations, confessions, revelations, ecstasies and visions. Every day Dorothy was served one meal, which she took only reluctantly, and on Christ's special order. She would have preferred to live on the holy sacrament alone, now offered to her daily 'through special dispensation of the merciful Lord Jesus Christ'.⁴⁴ During morning Mass, the recluse received the Holy Communion from the hands of her confessor, the main event of her day because the celebration of the

Eucharist was usually followed by ecstasies filled with visionary experiences of the mystical union of her soul with her divine bridegroom.

Most of these visions follow traditional patterns of bridal mysticism well known from the allegorical depictions composed by Mechthild of Magdeburg (d.c. 1282) or written down by confessors of southern German mystics such as Margareta Ebner (c.1291–1351).⁴⁵ Therefore, it does not come as a surprise when Marienwerder describes the festivities of the wedding of Dorothy's soul to her divine bridegroom by using allegorical images of a royal ceremony with all the pomp and solemnity known from the book of Mechthild's revelations.

There are two sorts of visions, though, which differ from traditional patterns. The first concerns Dorothy's preparation for the mystical wedding and the second relates to the specific quality of divine love that would lead her to eternal union with her heavenly bridegroom. As to the preparations of the bride, Marienwerder reports that the anchoress envisioned how she was instructed and adorned by her bridegroom in person. Surprisingly, this education extends even to courtly table manners, described in chapter ten of Book III.⁴⁶ Consequently, when Dorothy was having dinner in her cell, her soul often experienced that the Lord

treated her graciously at table, as a bridegroom would treat his beloved bride. In true, chaste love he encouraged her to eat, showing her what to take, cutting her food for her and serving her most attentively. He whispered sweetly to her and prepared a great feast in her soul.⁴⁷

After these preparations and the visions of her heavenly espousal, shortly before her death Dorothy envisioned how Christ, his mother and many saints appeared to her to draw and entice her in five grand processions spread over five days. 'In the course of the first procession she was filled with joy and sweetness and wounded by heartbreaking love.'⁴⁸ In the course of the second procession the Lord did the same and let her see her prepared path to eternal life. In the third procession 'the Lord appeared to weigh her down with the severe pressure his work exerted on her'.⁴⁹ In the fourth procession God revealed to her the reason for his pressure. Like a woman in labour she now had to endure

the fiercest exertions and most excruciating pains yet to deliver the noblest fruit of all as to give birth to your soul into eternal life . . . On the day of the fifth procession she was overwhelmed by the heartbreaking love and was wounded severely.⁵⁰

Her confessor then explains that the

heartbreaking love grew so tremendously in this same woman Dorothea that it finally broke her heart, for this love strengthened the life of grace to such a degree in her that it overpowered and extinguished the life of the creature and guided her soul into the life of divine glory, just as the Lord had prophesied.⁵¹

Later, Johannes Marienwerder reveals that the recluse was wounded 'in soul, heart, and her entire body by the rays and arrows of love'.⁵²

Dorothy was venerated popularly from the moment of her death as the guardian of the country of the Teutonic Knights and patron saint of Prussia. The formal process of

canonization, however, was broken off in 1404, and not resumed until 1955. Her relics were lost, probably during the Protestant Reformation, when the last Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights embraced Lutheranism and dissolved the Prussian branch of the order. Only a few copies of the numerous writings about the Prussian anchoress survive from the fifteenth century, one of which is the print version of Marienwerder's vernacular *Life*. Its frontispiece shows Dorothy of Montau dressed in the Dominican habit pierced by the seven arrows of God's heartbreaking love.⁵³

Conclusion

The picture of Dorothy depicted in the writings of Johannes Marienwerder shows a saint who resembles more a martyr than an anchoress who devoted her life to peaceful exercises leading to the spiritual union with her mystical bridegroom. Although the drawing is transmitted in a print version of Dorothy's *Life* dating from the end of the fifteenth century, it seems to clearly reflect the kind of saint into which Johannes Marienwerder tried to shape her. Whenever possible, Dorothy's confessor/biographer stresses the bodily pains, the exterior torments and the bloody wounds Dorothy had to endure from her early childhood until her very end in her heartbreaking love. This tendency to construct Dorothy as a martyr-like saint corresponds perfectly to the spiritual ideology of the Teutonic Knights who had to devote their lives to martyr-like battles for the triumph of Christ's church. Accordingly, Marienwerder crowns the two books relating Dorothy's life before entering her cell with a chapter summing up 'How she was and still is a great martyr'.⁵⁴ Whether this bloody martyrdom corresponds more to the intentions of Dorothy's Prussian confessor or to the spiritual aspirations of the Danzig lay mystic has yet to be explored, especially by further comparisons with the lives of other European anchoresses.

Notes

- ¹ Johannes von Marienwerder, *The Life of Dorothea von Montau, a Fourteenth-century Recluse*, trans. Ute Stargardt (New York: Edwin Mellen, 1997), p. 1. All citations from the medieval German original will be taken from this translation.
- ² My summary relies on the best survey in German by Hartmut Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden* (Munich: Beck, 1982); in French by Danielle Buschinger and Mathieu Olivier, *Les chevaliers Teutoniques* (Paris: Ellipses, 2007). The main medieval source is Klaus Scholz and Dieter Wojtecki (trans. and ed.), *Peter von Dusburg, Chronik des Preußenlandes* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984); also a Polish translation and commentary, Sławomir Wyszomirski and Jarosław Wenta (trans. with commentary), *Piotr z Dusburga, Kronika ziemi Pruskiej* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2004). For a presentation of all medieval chronicles of medieval Prussia, see Jarosław Wenta, *Studien über die Ordensgeschichtsschreibung am Beispiel Preußens* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2000).
- ³ First mentioned as 'hospitalis sancte Marie domus Theotonicorum Ierosolimitani', in *Peter von Dusburg*, p. 48.
- ⁴ Consequently, in a survey of the spiritual writings (books and manuscripts) transmitted from medieval Prussia there is no evidence for a reception of Aelred of Rievaulx and his *De Institutione inclusarum*: see Ralf G. Päsler, 'Deutschsprachige geistliche Texte des Mittelalters im Preußenland. Ein Bestandsverzeichnis', *Berichte und Forschungen. Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa*, 13 (2005), 7–64.

- ⁵ *The Life*, trans. Stargardt, p. 7.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.
- ⁷ Petra Hörner, *Dorothea von Montau. Überlieferung – Interpretation. Dorothea und die osteuropäische Mystik* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 33.
- ⁸ For a critical discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 41–2.
- ⁹ *Das Leben der heiligen Dorothea von Johannes Marienwerder*; Max Toeppen (ed.), *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1863); this is the standard edition translated by Ute Stargardt.
- ¹⁰ Hörner, *Dorothea von Montau*, pp. 208–23; edition of the Latin version: Franz Hipler (ed.), *Septililium B. Dorotheae Montoviensis. Auctore Joanne Marienwerder*, *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1880–5).
- ¹¹ *The Life*, trans. Stargardt, p. 35.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ Self-castigations, especially self-harm, were discouraged in English and Latin writings about anchoritism, such as the influential *Ancrene Wisse*, although none of those writings were available in medieval Prussia.
- ¹⁷ *The Life*, trans. Stargardt, p. 46
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- ²⁶ ‘God so increased her holy desire that as a result she began to hate the world and its glory even more. Concerns about temporal affairs; wearing luxurious clothes, and to own a great variety of them for adornment and worldly comfort; to attend banquets or other kinds of human entertainments was disgusting to her and so cruel to her spirit that physical revulsion seized her over the cheap tawdriness of such occasions’ (*ibid.*, p. 64).
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 58, 63, 64.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- ³⁴ The Vulgata version reads as follows: ‘et dabo vobis cor novum et spiritum novum . . . et faciam ut in praeceptis meis ambuletis et iudicia mea custodiatis et operemini’ Marienwerder’s quotation is in *ibid.*, p. 77.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 77–8.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.
- ⁴² Originally a biblical term (Psalm 127: 2), German lay mystics in southern Germany such as Rulman Merswin of Strassburg (1307–82) gathered ‘friends’ around them who devoted their life to spiritual exercises within private circles. For further information, see Rudolf Mohr, ‘Gottesfreunde’, in Peter Dinzelbacher (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mystik* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1989), pp. 197–8.

⁴³ *The Life*, trans. Stargardt, p. 129.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁴⁵ Mechthild of Magdeburg was the most influential of all German female mystics, and her writings belong to the masterpieces of German literature; the best edition with modern German translation and commentary is the one by Gisela Vollmann Profe (ed.), *Mechthild von Magdeburg. Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* (Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2010). Margarete Ebner is considered a follower of Mechthild's, but her 'revelations' were written down by her confessor Heinrich von Nördlingen: see Philipp Strauch (ed.), *Margarete Ebner und Heinrich von Nördlingen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Mohr, 1882).

⁴⁶ *The Life*, trans. Stargardt, pp. 159–60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 162–3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁵³ The oldest known depiction of Dorothea von Montau is the woodcut of Jacop Karweysze's 1492 print *Das Leben der zeligen frawen Dorothee clewsenerynne yn der thumkyrchen czu Marienwerdir des landes czu Prewszen*, in Paul Nieborowski, *Die Selige Dorothea von Preussen, ihr Heiligsprechungsprozess und ihre Verehrung bis in unsere Zeit* (Breslau: Ostdeutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1933), frontispiece; reproduced in *The Life*, trans. Stargardt, p. 1.

⁵⁴ *The Life*, trans. Stargardt, p. 141.

III

Anchoritic Texts and Traditions in the Lay World

Secularization in *Ancrene Wisse*, Part 1: The ‘Pater noster’, ‘Credo’ and ‘Ave’

CHIYOKO INOSAKI

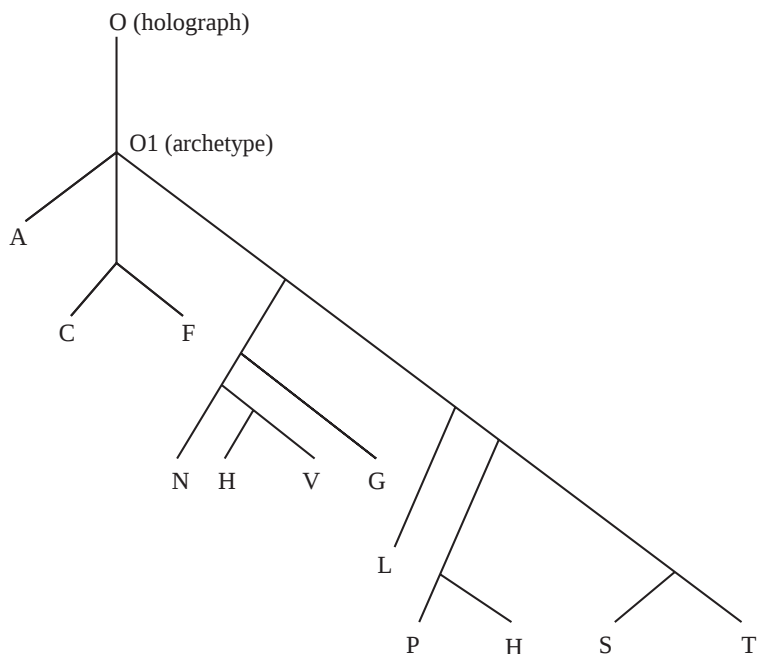
Among the seventeen extant manuscripts and extracts or fragments of *Ancrene Wisse*, thirteen include Part 1 (though three of these include only sections) while the remaining four exclude Part 1 completely.¹ Parts 1 and 8 form what the author calls the ‘outer rule’, although Millett has argued that they are not in any way legislative, like a monastic rule.² Part 1, the key chapter to understanding the whole work, demonstrates to anchorites the manner in which they should pray through the Hours and the Mass.³

The Latin quotations symbolize the authority of the instructor, or lector; they are supposed to be recited (*segge*) by an audience, or rather by a ‘user’, and they are usually indicated by the textual incipits for users to begin.⁴ When the three main prayers, ‘Pater noster’, ‘Credo’ and ‘Ave’ in Part 1 of the manuscripts are compared, it can be seen that the textual incipits of these three Latin prayers are not always exactly the same, even if they appear in similar contexts and retain the same functions as the others in their respective manuscripts. This paper will investigate the significance of these distinctions in the textual incipits of these three main Latin prayers in Part 1 of *Ancrene Wisse*, comparing the six manuscripts which include the complete texts of Part 1.⁵ Even such minor textual differences may provide clues for the analysis of the shifting nature of the audience and the manner of prayer at a very early stage in the history of prayer books.

The six manuscripts to be compared are:⁶

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 (hereafter A)
2. London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra C.vi (hereafter C)
3. London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius F.vii (hereafter F)
4. London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.xiv (hereafter N)
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Poet. A. I (hereafter P)
6. Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498 (hereafter P)⁷

These six manuscripts are located in Millett’s Stemma Codicum as follows:⁸



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Among these six manuscripts, A, C and F are closely related, occupying the earliest stage of textual development, between the 1230s and the later thirteenth century.⁹ N and V belong to a single derivative, genetically that next to the earliest, ranging from the 1240s to the end of the fourteenth century,¹⁰ while P shoots out a new branch, presumably to be dated to the later fourteenth century.¹¹ There is a gap of at least one hundred years between the earliest group and the supposedly latest manuscript of these six, P or V, which provides for the possibility of significant change in any aspect of the manuscripts and, of course, even in the usage of Latin, the official ecclesiastical language.

Apart from the evidence of the immediate audience, the ‘three sisters’ in N, we find no clear identification of either audience or user in this manuscript. The other manuscripts modified the relevant part in N according to their respective readers.¹² Manuscripts A and C provide evidence of a larger, scattered group of anchoresses.¹³ Each of the six manuscripts reveals varied kinds of anchoresses as seen in the Preface of A as follows:¹⁴

For sum is strong, sum unstrong ant mei ful wel beo cwite ant paie Godd mid leasse. Sum is clergesse, sum nawt ant mot[t]e mare wurchen ant on oðer wise seggen hire bonen. Sum is ald ant eðelich ant is þe leasse dred of, sum is zung ant luuelich ant is need betere warde.

(For one person is strong, another is not and can reasonably be excused and please God with less. One is well-educated, one is not and must do more manual labour and say her prayers differently. One is old and unprepossessing and gives less cause for anxiety, another is young and beautiful and needs to be guarded more carefully.)¹⁵

Finally, some parts imply another type of audience: Parts 4 and 5 address a general audience concerning sins and confession, particularly in APV.¹⁶ These indications of immediate readers, however, are gradually surpassed by connotations of ‘potential’ general users and wider pastoral use as time passes.¹⁷

The Latin variants in the manuscripts fall into four main categories: variants with feminine forms; modification from ‘textual incipit’ to ‘title’; the Nicene vs the Apostles’ Creed; and variations in the wording of the Pater noster. Focusing on these changes, we encounter reflections of different kinds of audience and of gaps in time through the varied usages of prayers or textual incipits.

Variants with feminine forms

Several scholars, such as Ackerman and Dahood, Dobson and Millett, have noted that the Latin quotations in the *Ancrene Wisse* may have been modified by scribes or other authorities according to the audience or a particular agenda. In the following analysis, the text of A will provide the point of comparison with the *Ancrene Wisse* author’s original text, presenting as it does the authorial revisions of the original text. In the following examples the author has altered the Latin of the Vulgate to the feminine, or has used a liturgical version which had already been altered from the Vulgate, based on the gender of his audience. In some cases, the other manuscripts follow A; in others, the scribes have modified the phrasing in A, suggesting a shift in audience and gender.

A good example of the former case is the following Latin quotation from A: *Saluos fac seruos tuos et ancillas tuas, Deus meus, sperantes in te* (f. 6v.123).¹⁸ Millett notes that this quotation is ‘identified by Ackerman and Dahood 1984 . . . as a “versicle and response used with the Litany” (*Salvos fac servos tuos et ancillas tuas: Deus meus sperantes in te* [My God, save your servants and your handmaids, who put their hope in you])’.¹⁹ Dobson shows that it is based on Psalm 85: 2, *salvum fac servum tuum, Deus meus, sperantem in te* (My God, save your servant, who puts his hope in you), ‘used *inter alia* in the introduction to the Mass for Ash Wednesday (*Sarum Missal*, pp. 48–51), in which it is preceded by the Seven Penitential Psalms, *Kyrie* etc., *Pater noster*, and *Et ne nos*’.²⁰ The example cited above comes just at the beginning of the Litany in the anchoress’s devotions. Though the quotations are based on the Vulgate, it seems to have come directly from the liturgical text which had altered *servum tuum* to *servos tuos et ancillas tuas*, applying to both genders and plurality. The same variant is followed by all six manuscripts.

In the following two cases, however, not all the manuscripts show the same variation. The first case shows that only ‘*ancillas*’ is employed for the variants with feminine forms in the manuscripts A, [F]²¹, N, V:

A. Verset: *Saluas fac ancillas tuas, Deus meus, sperantes in te.* (f. 11v.416–17)

C. *saluos fac seruos tuos z ancillas tuas.* (f. 18v.14)

F. [*Saluas fac ancillas tuas Deus meus*][*spera*]ntes in te. (f. 8v. col.ii.4–5)

N. *Saluas fac ancillas tuas. deus meus sperantes in* (f. 10v.31)

V. *Saluas fac Ancillas tuas. Deus meus sperans in te.* (f. 373v.col.b.1)

P. *Saluos fac seruos tuos z Ancillas tuas.* (p. 376.20–1)

Here, in the prayer said when going to bed, C and P include male servants (*seruos tuos*), as well as female. As mentioned above, this Latin quotation in *Sarum Breviary* (hereafter S.B.) II, 254 is a modification from Psalm 85: 2. In the prayer at the beginning of the Litany, all the manuscripts repeat the phrase from S.B. II, 254, citing *seruos tuos* and *ancillas tuas*, but in the bedtime prayer, only the C and P manuscripts retain the same citation, and the other manuscripts show the phrase from the Psalm itself, *ancillas tuas*. We may suppose that in the case of the devotion at litany, the liturgical character is stronger so that the citation for anchoresses is geared to the liturgical tradition. However, at the bedtime prayer – which is more private and personal – the same quotation could be cited in a less rigorous form by scribes. Therefore, the A, F, N and V manuscripts might have been freed from the liturgical tradition concerning the original biblical phrase, and such distinctions could be traces of secularization, that is, privatization in the future reading of prayer books.

Other citations of the phrase from Psalm 85 show similar variations, such as the ones below:²²

A. *Saluam fac famulam tuam, Deus meus, sperantem in te.* (f. 8v.234–5)

C. *Saluam fac famulam tuam* dues meus sperantem in te. (f. 14v.6–7)

F. (omit)

N. *Suum fac seruum tuum* deus meus sperantem in te. (f. 7v.23–4)

V. *Saluam fac famulam tuam.* Deus meus sperantem. (f. 373.col.a.2–3)

P. *Saluum fac populum tuum* domine. (p. 375.19–20)

F does not include the whole text of the long prayer, including the above, but only the first textual incipit, coming just after the greetings to the Virgin at the Mass. This starts with a quotation from St Augustine's *Confessiones*, and then proceeds through five quotations from the Psalms to conclude with a post-communion collect.²³ In the above case, Millett explains that here 'Ps.85: 2 in the Vulgate *saluum . . . seruum tuum* has been modified to *saluam . . . famulam tuam* for the female audience (cf. I.123; I.230–1; I.416–17), but restored in N . . . P substitutes *Saluum fac populum tuum, Domine* (cf. Ps. 27: 9)'.²⁴ Actually, the modification to *famulam tuam* resonates with the preceding prayer at the Mass, *Ab oculis meis munda me, Domine, et ab alienis parce famule tue* (From my secret ones cleanse me, Lord, and from those of others spare your maid), and this *famule tue*, the feminine variant, replaces *seruo tuo* in Psalm 18: 13–14.²⁵ This consecutive modification could indicate a female audience, while Pepys's substitution of *populum tuum* connotes a larger and mixed audience. These various replacements, and the French omission, show a scribal flexibility in locating audiences of domestic status through the selection of language based on the users.

These three examples in Part 1 show us that the Latin quotations have been adapted to suit a particular audience. First of all, the original male nouns in the Vulgate have been changed to the feminine or to a mixed gender in the liturgy to appeal to the audience as we see in S.B. Further, a number of alterations from the modified liturgical texts may be seen in some *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts which have been adapted to different readers. The number of the initial audience (the three sisters) has also been eliminated in order to correspond to the changeable number of readers. Even though Latin quotations from

the Bible and from the liturgy carry great authority, it seems that the person, authority or scribe citing from them in these examples, felt free to modify the texts. One modification from an authoritative Latin quotation provides a step towards a further modification, just as we saw *saluum tuum* changed into *famulam tuam*, and again into *populum tuum* in the previous example. The process might not have been straightforward, but may have been a distillation with several authoritative origins. This process of arrangement, however, would not have been necessary if the instruction of prayers was to be given only within cloisters. Confronting ‘semi-religious’²⁶ people in need of a guide, Latin phrases began to be arranged more widely, which in turn became a new authority for a new audience.

Modification from ‘textual incipit’ to ‘title’

While the Latin quotations were not originally marked out in Part 1 of the A manuscript,²⁷ those in Millett’s 2005 edition are italicized, in order to distinguish them from the vernaculars printed in block.²⁸ However, the three main prayers, ‘Pater noster’, ‘Credo’ and ‘Ave’ may be found printed in both forms by the editor: that is, some are in italic as Latin, and others are in block as vernacular. No other Latin words are treated in such a dual fashion.

Throughout *Ancrene Wisse*, the complete texts of each of the three prayers are not written out anywhere. Rather, these three prayers are identified through their respective textual incipits, that is, the introductory words for each quotation, as also seen in the liturgy.²⁹ This variation indicates that these incipits developed into titles for each prayer. Millett’s edition distinguishes the functions of title and textual incipit, using block type and italic respectively. I have counted the fifty-five occurrences of the incipits/titles and categorized them into three groups: title (thirty-six cases); textual incipit (fourteen cases); posture-change/range indication (five cases). The third case applies to those instances in which the words indicate the range of prayer recitation, for example the span of specific words from which users are required to recite or those that indicate at which word users should change their posture according to the requirements of the proper protocols of prayer. As noted above, Millett’s edition distinguishes between vernacular and Latin by using block for the vernacular and italics for Latin. When the ‘Pater noster’, ‘Credo’ and ‘Ave’ appear as a title they are in block; a textual incipit is indicated by italics; a posture-change/range indication is, again, in italics. As we will see, however, there are three cases of the ‘Ave’ among the fifty-five that do not seem to fit the rule in the edition for distinguishing vernacular from Latin.

Millett’s editorial rule seems to regard ‘Ave(z)’ as vernacular/titles so that they are printed in block in fourteen cases, the first one appearing as follows:³⁰

A. wið fif Auez, (f. 5v.60)

C. mit fiue auees. (f. 10.16)

F. od cuk auees. (f. 4v.28–9)

N. mid fif auez. (f. 4v.2)

V. wiþ fyue Aues. (f. 372va.30)

P. wiþ fyue Auees. (p. 373v.25)

However, the posture-change/range indications are considered to be Latin in three places, as per the following example, where the participants are required to assume a certain posture such as kneeling down or standing up:

- A. ed te *Aue Maria*, (f. 5v.73)
- C. ed þe aue maria. (f. 10v.9)
- F. al. Aue maria. (f. 4b.col.ii.20)
- N. aue maria. (f. 4v.16)
- V. þe Aue Maria. (f. 372va.11)
- P. att Aue maria, (p. 373v.37)

Furthermore, there are five cases of the exact quotations, or longer textual incipits, to be recited; they are in Latin, and written in italic as in the following example:³¹

- A. *Aue Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*; (f. 9v.284)
- C. (omit)
- F. (omit)
- N. (omit)
- V. Aue Maria Gracia Plena Dominus Tecum. (f. 373rb.25–6)
- P. (omit)

There are three examples, however, where it seems inappropriate to use italics (as in Millett's editorial policy). The cases in Appendix A show 'Ave Maria' written in italic, that is, as shorter textual incipits, in the 2005 edition. In both cases of 1 and 2, except in P 'Ave Maria' is collocated with 'Pater noster' which is written in block as vernacular in A, and both are supposed to be recited. These two cases occur in the same context in the following example, in which both 'Pater noster' and 'Ave' are printed in block:

- A. Pater Nostres ant Auez (f. 11.391–2)
- C. pater nosteres z auees (f. 18.2–3)
- F. paternostres. Et auees. (f. 8.3)
- N. pater nosteres z of auez (f. 10.17)
- V. pater nostres. and Aues. (f. 373va.14–15)
- P. (omit)

Therefore, it seems appropriate to regard the two cases of 'Ave Maria' as titles rather than textual incipits and to apply the same principle to the third case.

Latin quotations, such as antiphons, collects, hymns in liturgies and so on, are mainly quoted as a phrase, short or long. These three most repeated forms of prayer, however, can be recognized simply by the initial words as the users know them well by heart and pray. The two prayers, 'Pater noster' and 'Ave', are required to be recited by participants more than once in a certain sequence, while 'Credo' is usually said only once. The frequent repetitions alter the opening words into titles, common nouns and also into plural forms

as follows in A: Pater Nostres/Nosteres/Nosters in twelve cases; Auez/Auees/Aues in fifteen cases. The tendency towards the numeration of these two prayers is gradually established in the regulations of prayers within cloisters. The plural ‘Aves’ in the P manuscript occurs more often than in others. In five cases for the instruction of the Litany, the P manuscript adds frequent prayers of ‘Aves’, where the others only require ‘Pater Nostres’, or ‘Pater Nostres’ and ‘Credo’ as seen in the following example:

- A. þreo Pater Nostres, Credo. (f. 7.145–6)
- C. þreo pater nosteres. credo indeum. (f. 12v.8–9)
- F. trois Pater nostres et Credo. (f. 5v.col.ii.37–8)
- N. þreo pater nosteres. credo. (f. 6.18–19)
- V. þre pater nosters. Crede (f. 372vb.5)
- P. þre. Pater nostres. and þre Auees. (p. 374v.27–8)

In another case, while the other manuscripts request ‘Ave’ once, Pepys stipulates more:

- A. ant *Aue Maria* (f. 12.432)
- C. z *Aue maria* (f. 19.9)
- F. et *aue maria*. (f. 8v.col.ii.34)
- N. z *aue maria*; (f. 10v.15)
- V. And *Aue Maria*; (f. 373vb.15)
- P. *Auees*, (p. 376v.34)

This phenomenon shows that when the P manuscript, the later manuscript of the six, was written, the requirement to employ the ‘Aves’ and the common usage of this prayer had been greatly increased. When a Latin textual incipit becomes well repeated and well known, it is transformed into a title which is then categorized as a vernacular, subsequently to be shown in block as in the 2005 editorial rule. Once recognized as a vernacular, a title developed into plural forms, adjusting to the vernacular grammatical construction.

The Nicene vs the Apostles’ Creed

Like Aue or Pater noster, ‘Credo’ is used as a title derived from the very first word of the prayer. The C manuscript, however, uses the longer title or incipit for creed, ‘credo in deum’, in two cases:

- A. Pater Noster ant Credo; (f. 4v.8–9)
- C. pater noster z credo indeum. (f. 9.20–1)
- F. Pater noster. Et. Credo. (f. 4.27–8)
- N. pater noster z credo. (f. 4.4)
- V. pater noster and Crede. (f. 372rb.2)
- P. (omit)

- A. *preo Pater Nostres, Credo.* (f. 7.145–6)
- C. *preo pater nosteres. credo indeum.* (f. 12.v.8–9)
- F. *trois Pater nostres et Credo.* (f. 5v.col.ii.37–8)
- N. *preo pater nosteres. credo.* (f. 6.18–19)
- V. *pre pater nosters. Crede* (f. 372vb.5)
- P. *pre. Pater nostres. and pre Auees.* (p. 374v.27–8)

This textual incipit does not come from the Nicene Creed, but from the Apostles' Creed.

These two cases in C appear in the explanation of obligatory prayers for the Hours, while the creed in the Mass is called the 'Great Creed' as in the following case:

- A. *i þe Muchele Credo,* (f. 5v.84)
- C. *In þe muchele crede* (f. 10v.25)
- F. *en le grant Credo* (f. 4v.col.ii.7)
- N. *et te messe crede* (f. 5.32)
- V. *In þe muchele crede.* (f. 372va.21–2)
- P. *in þe Messe crede.* (p. 373v.8)

The 'Great Creed' (A, C, F, V) is considered to be the Nicene Creed,³² as is the 'Creed in the Mass' (N and P). It is true that the shortest incipit 'Credo' or the title 'Crede' can indicate either of the creeds; the two examples from C manuscript above provide the only written evidence of the coexistence of (and the distinction between) the Nicene Creed and the Apostles' Creed at the same time for the same people employing them. Also, if we accept Harper's comment, that 'the Nicene Creed, compiled in its first form in 325 became a regular item of the Mass only in the eleventh century (as a measure against the risk of heresy)',³³ it may imply that the Nicene Creed had already been introduced in the Mass, while the Apostles' Creed still remained in use for the Hours; this seems true for the C manuscript.

At this point it is necessary to consider liturgical notations of the creed. The *Sarum Breviary* begins *Psalterium Davidicum Ad Usam Sarum* by indicating that before the Hours a series of prayers should be said, which includes the incipit *Symbolum Apostolorum*.³⁴ It then records the whole texts of *Brevis Oratio et peculiaris ante Horas*, *Oratio Dominica*, *Salutatio Angelica* and *Symbolum Apostolorum*. In *Primam*, the creed is included in *Preces* in an abbreviated written form with an incipit: 'Credo in Deum. Carnis resurrectionem. Et vitam aeternam. Amen.'³⁵ (I believe in God. In resurrection of the body. And eternal life. Amen.) This incipit is identified as *Symbolum Apostolorum*, and this also occurs in *Preces Completorii*.³⁶ Meanwhile, *Ordinarium Missae* in *Sarum Breviary* contains a creed which begins with 'Credo in unum Deum' and includes the whole Nicene text.³⁷ The coexistence of the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed in the *Sarum Breviary* is thus confirmed; the former in the *Preces* and the latter in the Mass. Thus, of the six manuscripts, Cleopatra, in which the two kinds of incipits of the creed are clearly recorded, is most closely linked to the inscription of the creed in the *Sarum Breviary*. This may support the assumption of the earlier production of this manuscript.

The character of dual employment of the two creeds may have gradually been changed in the course of the development of liturgy and prayers, shifting the title of the Nicene Creed from the Great Creed to the Mass Creed, and dropping the latter part of the Nicene incipit 'in unum deum'.

While 'Pater noster' and 'Ave' transform themselves to plural forms when necessary, 'Credo' does not show the same transformation. It does, however, develop into a form of noun, 'creed', and its appearance in the six manuscripts is as follows: noun-form 'creed' appears three times in C; twice in N and P; six times in V.³⁸ Thus, it can be concluded that the two words 'credo' and 'creed' are still used interchangeably in these manuscripts, although the V manuscript tends to use the newly forged noun form 'creed' more than the other manuscripts. This may also be due to the later production date of the V manuscript.

*Variations in the wording of the Pater noster:
Pater noster; Et ne nos; Sed libera*

When 'Pater noster' is cited as a textual incipit, it is written either '*Pater noster*' the same as a title, or in a longer form, '*Pater noster; Et ne nos*', or '*Pater noster; et ne nos sed libera*'. There is only one case in which the six manuscripts (excepting F which omits the corresponding part) contain the same textual incipit as the title 'Pater noster':

- A. *Pater noster, Credo* . . . (f. 8v.233)
- C. *Pater noster. Credo* (f. 14v.5)
- F. (omit)
- N. *pater noster. Credo* (f. 7v.22–3)
- V. *Pater noster. Aue Maria and Crede* (f. 373ra.2)
- P. *pater noster. Credo*. (p. 375.18–19)

However, the seven examples given in Appendix B show variations in the textual incipits.³⁹ Manuscript A includes the longer textual incipits in six cases out of seven. C shows the longer textual incipits in all seven cases, and is the only manuscript that presents the longest textual incipit '*Pater noster. z ne nos sed libera*' in number 1. F shows the same six longer textual incipits as A, the last one being supplied by a later editor because of fire damage. It is possible that the original manuscript contained the seventh longer incipit and that the later editor did not realize it. N shows no sign of the longer textual incipits, while V and P use the longer textual incipit only in number 5.

What causes these differences in the textual incipits of the same prayer among the six manuscripts? Let us review the prayer itself. (Bold is again employed for clarity.)

Pater noster : **Pater noster**, qui es in caelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum: adveniat regnum, tuum: fiat voluntas, sicut in caelo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie: et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. **Et ne nos** inducas in temptationem, **sed libera** nos a malo.⁴⁰

The longest textual incipit in C, '*Pater noster. z ne nos sed libera*', is actually a combination of the three textual incipits of the three parts of the prayer. In order to understand the backgrounds of the textual incipits, it is necessary to observe where in Part 1 these seven examples appear. The longer textual incipits in ACF occur in the anchoress's mid-morning prayer, said during the last part of the Office of the Hours of the morning (numbers 1, 2, 3); a prayer sometime, day or night (number 4, except A); the first and second prayers at midday, during the prayer for the Cross (numbers 5 and 6); the prayer at retiring to bed (number 7).

The textual contexts of the examples are given in Appendix C. The context is given as it is found in A (the numbers in the text indicate the cases given above and bold is again employed for clarity), and number 4 is compared with the corresponding part in C. Here, it can be seen that numbers 1, 2 and 7 have as their background the Office of the Dead (*Officium Defunctorum*), and number 3 shows the influence of the Gradual Psalms (*Psalmi Graduales*).⁴¹ In the Office for the Dead, *Placebo Domino* opens with Psalm 114, Psalm 119, Psalm 120, Psalm 129, Psalm 137 and then Preces such as:

Pater noster *secreto ad*

V. **Et ne nos** inducas in tentationem.

R. **Sed libera** nos a malo.⁴²

Similarly, in the Gradual Psalms:

Pater noster *secreto ad*

V. **Et ne nos** inducas in tentationem.

R. **Sed libera** nos a malo.⁴³

In each case, the attendants begin the prayer in silence until the officiant recites 'Et ne nos', and the choir responds with 'Sed libera'. The longer textual incipit of 'Pater noster' thus implies a ritual formation for congregational gatherings.

Harper states that of the Divine Offices, Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Compline also include Preces in which the leader and the followers correspond with their own roles in saying the prayer as outlined above. Preces is, he says, 'a series of psalm verses sung as versicle and response between officiant and choir . . . At Prime and Compline the Preces generally included a confession, and even a whole psalm (or psalms).'⁴⁴ Preceding the Preces are the Lesser Litany and Lord's Prayer, which Harper explains as follows:

An extended litany was said in the early Church, but by medieval times this was truncated to the Greek petitions *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison* . . . which were sometimes sung three times. The exact manner of performance varied, but there was a dialogue between officiant and choir. The Lord's Prayer followed. The officiant either intoned *Pater noster* (the remainder of the text was then prayed silently, possibly with *Ave Maria*), or else he sang the whole prayer. In either case the conclusion was sung as versicle and response:

V. *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*

R. *Sed libera nos a malo*

(And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.)⁴⁵

Harper's explanation is borne out by the cases of numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7, in that all 'Pater noster. Et ne nos' begin just after the *Kyrie eleison*. The Lord's Prayer was a form of dialogue between the officiant/celebrant/priest and the choir, and this characteristic remains in the seven longer textual incipits that we have examined above.

The reason for the differences between the longer textual incipits among the six manuscripts is not immediately obvious, but it may be related to the dates at which the manuscripts were produced.⁴⁶ C is the earliest of these six manuscripts and displays most significantly the hue of the earliest stage of the transfer of the Pater noster from a congregational liturgical environment to a narrower, more private one. With the help of the *Stemma Codicum* constructed by Millett, it is possible to draw a tentative line of the tendency to reduce the textual incipit among the manuscripts. Caution needs to be exercised when considering whether these longer textual incipits were actually selected for the purpose of recitation by both an officiant and the audience, that is, the anchorites, or whether the traditional usage of the longer textual incipits was redundant for the individual users even when they were noted down as if for congregational use. Nevertheless, V and P support the speculation that the textual incipits of the three main Latin prayers gradually became shortened with the passage of time. Given the other characteristics of these two manuscripts, this suggests a secularization or a privatization of the liturgical services.

Conclusion

By examining some altered forms (feminine, plural and of two sexes), we have observed that Latin quotations for prayer could be adjusted to the users of the manuscripts. This informs us that the authenticity of Latin quotations does not always depend on a legacy of strict wording, but can be transferred to users through arranged phrases that would help them understand instructions better.

The examination of incipits reveals several steps towards secularization. The incipits of Pater noster and Ave transformed themselves from textual incipits, originally Latin, to vernacular titles after numerous repetitions of these prayers, as 'Aves' are seen most in the P manuscript and the noun 'Creed' in the V manuscript. (Part 1 in the P manuscript does not directly include the passages referred to by Colledge which infer Wycliffite elements,⁴⁷ but there is an inserted paragraph between Part 1 and 2 [p. 376v. [M.48] 23–p. 377v. 16] which Colledge identifies as having a clear tone of popularization.) The most frequent repetitions of 'Aves', some arbitrary omissions of prayers and the substitution of 'populum tuum' to address the audience in Part 1, may indicate secularized characteristics of the P manuscript.

Although in C the two kinds of incipits of creed are recorded, that trace disappears in the other five manuscripts. Moreover, the Nicene Creed, called the Great Creed in the earlier manuscripts, is titled as the Mass Creed in the later texts of N and P. Finally, C,

presumably reflecting the contemporary or traditional liturgical phrases the most, records the corresponding pattern of incipits of Pater noster between an officiant and followers. Therefore, it can be assumed that the audience of C might be familiar with or accustomed to such a liturgy, or at least the C manuscript's Scribe A shows that he himself was nurtured in a very much liturgical environment.

The six manuscripts examined above are scattered across the span of more than a hundred years of time, so it is likely that changes occurred in every section of the manuscripts. If more of the usages of incipits in the later manuscripts, that is, in NVP, were compared with the earlier ones, it is possible that a clearer step towards secularization would become apparent. Latin incipits evidently have more to tell us than we have so far discovered.

Appendix A

- 1) A. singeð Pater Noster ant *Aue Maria* (f. 6.99–100)
 C. seggeð pater noster z aue Marie. (f. 11.20)
 F. dites. Pater noster. et Aue maria. (f. 4v.col.ii.5–6)
 N. siggeð pater noster z aue maria (f. 5.15–16)
 V. siggeþ pater noster. And Aue Maria: (f. 372va.36)
 P. seiþ a. Pater noster. atte gynnyngre and an. Aue. (p. 374.20–1)

- 2) A. ant *Aue Maria* efter euch Pater Noster, (f. 12.432)
 C. z Aue maria efter vh an Pater noster. (f. 19.9–10)
 F. et aue maria. Apres chescun pater noster. (f. 8v.col.ii.34–5)
 N. z aue maria; efter euerich pater noster. (f. 10v.15–16)
 V. And Aue Maria; after vche pater noster. (f. 373vb.15–16)
 P. Auees, And after vchone. Gloria patri. (p. 376v.34–p. 15.1)

- 3) A. *Aue Maria* al ut (f. 9v.285)
 C. aue maria magnificat⁴⁸ al vt (f. 15v.20–1)
 F. Aue maria. tout hors. (7 col.ii.26–7)
 N. Aue maria al vt (f. 8v.24)
 V. Aue Maria al out (f. 373rb.26)
 P. aue. (p. 375v.27)

Appendix B

- 1) A. *Pater noster*; ***Et ne nos***; (f. 6v.122)
 C. *Pater noster. z ne nos sed libera.* (f. 12.1–2)
 F. *Pater noster. Et ne n[os]* (f. 5v.15–16)
 N. *pater noster.* (f. 5v.6)
 V. *Pater noster.* (f. 372vb.18–19)
 P. *Pater noster.* (p. 374.8)

- 2) A. *Pater noster*; ***Et ne nos***; (f. 6v.125)
 C. ***z ne nenos.***⁴⁹ (f. 12.4–5)
 F. *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* (f. 5v.22)
 N. *pater noster.* (f. 5v.12)
 V. *pater noster.* (f. 372vb.21)
 P. *Pater.* (p. 374.11)

- 3) A. *Pater noster*; ***Et ne nos***; (f. 6v.128–9)
 C. *Pater noster. z ne nos.* (f. 12.8)
 F. *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* (f. 5v.30)
 N. *pater noster.* (f. 5v.18)
 V. *pater noster.* (f. 372vb.24)
 P. (omit)

- 4) A. *Pater noster.* (f. 8.204)
 C. *Pater noster. z ne nos.* (f. 14.3–5)
 F. *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* (f. 6v.23)
 N. *pater noster.* (f. 7v.28)
 V. *pater noster.* (f. 373ra.11–12)
 P. (omit)

- 5) A. *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* (f. 9r.259–60)
 C. *Pater noster z nenos.* (f. 15.11)
 F. *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* (f. 7.6)
 N. *Pater noster.* (f. 8.23)
 V. *Pater noster Et ne nos* (f. 373ra.29)
 P. *Pater noster. z ne nos.* (p. 375v.6–7)

- 6) A. *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* (f. 9.264)
 C. *Pater noster. z ne nos.* (f. 15.17–18)
 F. *Pater noster. Et ne nos.* (f. 7.21)
 N. *pater noster.* (f. 8.31)
 V. *Pater noster* (f. 373rb.36)
 P. (omit)

- 7) A. *Pater noster*. ***Et ne nos.*** (f. 11v.416)
 C. *Pater noster*. ***z ne***⁵⁰ (f. 18v.13)
 F. [*Pater noster.*] (f. 8v.col.ii.4)
 N. *pater noster*. (f. 10v.30)
 V. *Pater noster*. (f. 373vb.1)
 P. *Pater noster*. (p. 376.20)

Appendix C

Efter þe forme fiue, *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*; (1) **Pater noster; Et ne nos; Saluos fac seruos tuos et ancillas tuas, Deus meus, sperantes in te. Oremus Deus, cui proprium est.** Efter þe oþre fiue alswa: *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison*; (2) **Pater noster; Et ne nos; Domine, fiat pax inuirtute tua, et abundancia in turribus tuis. Oremus. Ecclesie tue, quesumus, Domine, Preces placatus.** Efter þe þridde fiue (þe 3e schulen segen wiðuten *Gloria Patri*), *Kyrie eleison i.i.i.*; (3) **Pater noster; Et ne nos; A porta inferi erue, Domine, animas eorum. Oremus. Fidelium Deus omnium.** (f.6v.121–30)

(After the first five, *Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy*; (1) **Our Father; And [lead] us not; My God, save your servants and your handmaids, who put their hope in you. Let us pray. O God, whose special nature it is. After the second five similarly: *Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy*; (2) **Our Father; And [lead] us not; O Lord, may there be peace in your strength, and abundance in your towers. Let us pray. We beseech you. O Lord, [accept] gladly the prayers of your Church. After the third five (which you should say without the *Glory be to the Father*), *Lord have mercy three times*; (3) **Our Father; And [lead] us not; Free their souls, O Lord, from the gate of hell. Let us pray. O God, Creator of all the faithful.**)****

ant 3ef 3e habbeð hwile, seggeð þe salm *Leuau i oculos*. (4) **Pater noster.** [C: (4) **Pater noster. z ne nos.** (f.14.3–5)] Verset: *Conuertere, Domine, usquequo? Et deprecabilis esto super seruos tuos. Oremus. Pretende, Domine, famulis et famulabus.* (f.8.204–6)

(and if you have time, say the psalm *I have lifted up [my] eyes*. (4) **Our Father.** Versicle: *Returen, O Lord: how long? And be open to your servants' prayers. Le us pray. O Lord, hold out to [your] servants and handmaids.*)

ant þenne þe antefne segge eauer þus: *Salua nos, Christe saluator, þer uirtutem sancte Crucis*, ant blescin wið *Qui saluasti Petrum in mare, miserere nobis*, ant beate þe breoste, ant tenne falle adun ant segge, *Christe, audi nos; Iesu Christe, audi nos. Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.* (5) **Pater noster. Et ne nos.** Verset: *Protector noster, aspice, Deus, et respice in faciem christi tui. Oremus. Deus, qui sanctam Crucem. Eft beginne Adoramus as ear, alle fiue; Salua nos, Christe, þe antefne as ear; þe salm Ad te leauui; þe antefne [efter], al ut; ant tenne as ear to þe eorðe; Christe, audi nos twien. Kyrie iii. (6) **Pater noster. Et ne nos.** Verset: *Protector noster, as ear. Oremus. Adesto, quesumus, Domine Deus noster, et quos sancte crucis letari facis.* (f.9.255–66)*

(and then always say the antiphon as follows: *Save us, O Christ the Saviour, through the power of the holy Cross*, and make the sign of the cross at *You who saved Peter in the sea, have mercy on us*, and beat her breast, and then prostrate herself and say *O Christ, hear us; Jesus Christ, hear us. Lord have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy.* (5) **Our Father. And [lead] us not.** Versicle: *Behold, O God, our protector, and look on the face of your anointed one. Let us pray. O God, [who ascended] the holy Cross.* Then begin the *Adoramus* as before, all five; *Save us, O Christ*, the antiphon as before; the psalm *I*

have lifted up [my eyes] to you; the antiphon afterwards, right through; and then as before, to the ground; O Christ, hear us, twice. Lord [have mercy] three times. (6) **Our Father. And [lead] us not.** Versicle: [Behold, O God,] our Protector, as before. Let us pray. Stand by us, we beseech you, O Lord our God, and [defend] those whom you cause to rejoice [in the honour] of the holy Cross.)

3ef 3e habbeð ei god idon, þonkið him of his 3eoue, wiðute hwam we ne mahen ne wel don ne wel þenchen, ant seggeð *Miserere*, ant *Kyrie eleison*, *Christe eleison*, *Kyrie eleison*. (7) **Pater noster. Et ne nos.** Verset: *Saluas fac ancillas tuas, Deus meus, sperantes in te. Oremus. Deus, cui proprium est*; ant stondinde, *Visita, Domine, habitationem istam*; (f.11v.413–f.12.418)

(If you have done anything good, thank him, without whom we can neither act nor think rightly, for his gift; and say *Miserere*, and *Lord have mercy*, *Christ have mercy*, *Lord have mercy*; (7) **Our Father. And [lead] us not.** Versicle: *Save your handmaids, O my God, who put their hope in you. Let us pray. O God, whose special nature it is*; and standing, *O Lord, visit this dwelling*;)

Notes

- ¹ Manuscripts which include the whole of Part 1 are A, C, F, Ma, Me, N, P, R2, V and V1. The ones that contain a portion of Part 1 are B, N, T and Tr. The ones that do not include it are Bd, G, H, R. The sigla referred to are those used by Bella Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 402, with Variants from other Manuscripts*, 2 vols, EETS OS 325, 326 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 2006), p. ix.
- ² Bella Millett, 'The genre of *Ancrene Wisse*', in Yoko Wada (ed.), *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003), pp. 29–44. She continues, 'its [the rest of the work] main debt is to other genres of religious writing, and it is more usefully studied in this broader generic context' (p. 42).
- ³ Robert W. Ackerman and Roger Dahood (eds), *Ancrene Riwe: Introduction and Part I, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 31* (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York, 1984), p. 734.
- ⁴ J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 243.
- ⁵ The manuscripts Ma, Me, R2 and V1 are not treated in this paper, as they are combined in L.
- ⁶ The editions to be used are A) Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse*, hereafter *Ancrene Wisse I* and II; C) E. J. Dobson (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, edited from B. M. Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. VI*, EETS OS 267 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972); F) J. A. Herbert (ed.), *The French Text of the Ancrene Riwe: Edited from British Museum MS. Cotton Vitellius F vii*, EETS OS 219 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1944); N) Mabel Day (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe: Edited from Cotton MS. Nero A.XIV, on the Basis of a Transcript by J. A. Herbert*, EETS OS 225 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952); V) Arne Zettersten and Bernhard Diensberg (eds), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe: The 'Vernon' Text, Edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet. a. I*, EETS OS 310, intro. H. L. Spencer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); P) Arne Zettersten (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe: Edited from Magdalene College, Cambridge MS. Pepys 2498*, EETS OS 274 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).
- ⁷ P is Lollard-interpolated, suggesting a radical secularization. Thus, I have less confidence in the comparison of Latin quotations in the latter part of P, due to its wildly modified text.

- ⁸ *Ancrene Wisse* I, p. xxix (by permission of The Early English Text Society).
- ⁹ Bella Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for Anchoresses: A Translation, based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter, 2009), pp. xxxvii–xxxix. The translations of MS A are from this book, hereafter Millett, *Ancrene Wisse/A Translation*.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xl–xlii.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xl.
- ¹² *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. xx.
- ¹³ Millett, *Ancrene Wisse/A Translation*, p. xv; *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. xxiii.
- ¹⁴ Slight variations are seen among the manuscripts with the same context.
- ¹⁵ *Ancrene Wisse* I, Preface, p. 2.55–9; Millett, *Ancrene Wisse/A Translation*, p. 2.
- ¹⁶ Millett, *Ancrene Wisse/A Translation*, p. xvi; *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. xxiv; other manuscripts respectively.
- ¹⁷ *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. xxiv.
- ¹⁸ Bold type is employed for clarification.
- ¹⁹ *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. 26. See Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth (eds), *Sarum Breviary: Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879–86), II, p. 254.
- ²⁰ *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. 26.
- ²¹ For the French manuscript, the citation in brackets is supplied by the editor of the modern edition.
- ²² Millett translates ‘servo’ as ‘servant’, and both ‘ancilla’ and ‘famula’ as ‘handmaid’ (*Ancrene Wisse/A Translation*, pp. 10, 18); Savage and Watson render ‘ancilla’ as ‘handmaid’ and both ‘servo’ and ‘famula’ as ‘servant’: see Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), p. 56.
- ²³ *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. 34.
- ²⁴ *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. 34; Psalm 27: 9, ‘salva populum tuum et benedic hereditati tuae et pasce eos et subleva eos usque in sempiternum’ (Save your people and bless your inheritance, and rule them and exalt them forever).
- ²⁵ *Ancrene Wisse* II, p. 34.
- ²⁶ Millett, *Ancrene Wisse/A Translation*, p. xx.
- ²⁷ The Latin notations among the *Ancrene Wisse* manuscripts are as follows: Bd) ‘Latin quotations underlined in red’ (*Ancrene Wisse* I, p. xii); BN) ‘Latin quotations underlined in red’ (*Ancrene Wisse* I, p. xiii); F) ‘The text down to the end of line 13 [in Latin] underlined in red’ (*The French Text of the Ancrene Riwle*, p. 1); P) ‘each Latin quotation beginning a new paragraph’ (*Ancrene Wisse* I, p. xxi).
- ²⁸ ‘*Italic type* is used to indicate Latin in the edited text, editorial comment in the footnotes and apparatus criticus’ (*Ancrene Wisse* I, p. lxxv).
- ²⁹ Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, p. 243.
- ³⁰ The ‘Ave(z)’ in block occur in A at f. 5v.60, f. 9v.278, f. 9v.282, f. 9v.293, f. 10.302, f. 10.309, f. 10.315, f. 10v.347, f. 10v.351, f. 10v.352, f. 10v.359, f. 11.377, f. 11.391–2, f. 12.432.
- ³¹ The four others occur in A at f. 9v.292, f. 9v–10.301, f. 10.308–9, f. 10.314–15.
- ³² See Savage and Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality*, pp. 53, 55.
- ³³ Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, p. 20.
- ³⁴ ‘Ante initium Horarum dicitur semper Oratio Dominica: et in fine similiter, praesertim post Matutinas et Vesperas, per Cap. Id semper placuit: de Consecratione, Distinctio v. Cap. 14. Identidem, Ave Maria. Credo in Deum. Credo in Spiritum. Unde Hieron. In principio cujuslibet operas praemitte Orationem Dominicam, et signum crucis in fronte: juxta id quod scriptum est. Ante orationem praepara animam tuam Domino, ne sis quasi qui tentat Deum.’ (‘Before beginning the Hours, Lord’s Prayer is always said: and in the end in the same way, especially after Matin and Vesper, among Chapters. It should be always with “On Consecration, Distinction v. Cap. 14”. “Ave Maria”, “Credo in Deum” and “Credo in Spiritum” should be constantly said according to St Jerome. Principally before whatever work is done, Lord’s Prayer and the sign of cross on the forehead should be forwarded, according to what is written. Before prayer, prepare your heart for

- your Lord, not like someone who attempts God.’) (*Sarum Breviary* II, p. 1).
- ³⁵ Ibid., p. 51.
- ³⁶ Ibid., p. 239.
- ³⁷ Ibid., pp. 483–4.
- ³⁸ The six locations in V are the following parts: f. 372rb.2, f. 372va.4, f. 372va.13, f. 372va.22, f. 372vb.5, f. 373ra.2.
- ³⁹ For the sake of clarity, I have indicated the longer part in bold and numbered the cases.
- ⁴⁰ Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, p. 272.
- ⁴¹ *Ancrene Wisse* II, pp. 24–30.
- ⁴² *Breviarum Romanum ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini* (Mechliniae: Dessain, 1893), p. 125.
- ⁴³ Ibid., p. 130.
- ⁴⁴ Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, p. 84.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ A and C are generally assigned to the first half of the thirteenth century, probably in the 1230s, with C in the early 1230s. N is dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century or the 1240s, while F was copied around the beginning of the fourteenth century. P dates from 1365–75 and V manuscript from towards the end of the fourteenth century. *Ancrene Wisse* I, pp. xi–xxvii.
- ⁴⁷ Christina Von Nolcken, ‘The *Recluse* and its readers: some observations on a Lollard interpolated version of *Ancrene Wisse*’, in Wada (ed.), *A Companion to Ancrene Wisse*, p. 178.
- ⁴⁸ ‘Struck through, almost certainly by scribe B and not by scribe A himself correct emendation (cf. *Corpus*)’ (Dobson (ed.), *Cleopatra*, p. 31 n).
- ⁴⁹ ‘So MS.; dittography of *ne*’, *ibid.*, p. 22 n., f. 12.3.
- ⁵⁰ ‘So MS., for *ne nos.*’, *ibid.*, p. 37 n., f. 18v.4.

Reading and Devotional Practice: The Wooing Group Prayers of British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.xiv*

CATHERINE INNES-PARKER

The five prayers of the Wooing Group have always been studied as a subset of the *Ancrene Wisse* Group led, and indeed dominated, by *Be Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, the text for which the Wooing Group is named. Yet, the other four prayers were composed earlier than *Wohunge*; it is dependent upon them, rather than the other way around. In fact, the four earliest Wooing Group prayers pre-date *Ancrene Wisse* itself, and can be shown to have had a significant influence on its author. And, although the Wooing Group prayers are clearly identifiable as a group, they seem to have circulated independently; none of the other prayers of the Wooing Group are found in London, British Library, MS Cotton Titus D.xviii (henceforth Titus), which contains the sole surviving copy of *Wohunge*. Rather, they are found together in a group in London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.xiv (henceforth Nero) where a second scribe adds *On god ureisun of ure lefdi* (UUL), *On wel swuðe god ureisun of God almihti* (UGA), *Be oreisun of seinte Marie* (OSM) and *On lofsong of ure louerde* (LUL) to the manuscript following *Ancrene Wisse* (originally its only contents).¹

When taken out from under the shadow of their better-known namesake, the four earliest prayers of the Wooing Group have much to tell us about the development of thirteenth-century vernacular devotional literature. Indeed, if studied as the ‘prelude’ to *Wohunge*, rather than as its lesser sister texts, the ‘other’ prayers of the Wooing Group emerge as singular texts in their own right, and as a distinguished group when gathered together. The history of their composition reveals that *Wohunge* was the product of a long and complicated process, as anchoritic sensibility and the needs of anchoritic readers developed and merged with evolving lay piety.²

It has long been acknowledged that *Ancrene Wisse* marks a significant transition in vernacular spirituality. Although the text itself claims to have been written for three individual anchoresses, sisters in body and soul, and then revised for a larger community of ‘twenty or more’ anchoresses, the author clearly envisioned a wider audience right from the beginning. *Ancrene Wisse* quickly became a devotional handbook for lay and religious alike – and, as Bella Millett has reminded us, for those, like the anchoress, who

live on the margins of both worlds. *Ancrene Wisse* thus stands at the beginning of a significant movement in vernacular devotional literature that would affect the forms and structure of the wave of vernacular texts that would follow in the next two centuries.

Yet, the development of vernacular devotional literature owes as much to the rise of Passion meditation as the grounding of prayerful contemplation as it does to the literature of guidance represented by *Ancrene Wisse*. While Part 7 of *Ancrene Wisse* sets Passion meditation firmly in the penitential and structured life of the anchoress – or, for the lay reader in the integral counsel and direction of the text – prayers like those of the Wooing Group provide stand-alone prayers and meditations that could be read in unpredictable contexts, without the grounding of the ‘inner rule’ or the service of the ‘outer rule’.

The four earliest Wooing Group prayers are shorter and simpler than *Wohunge*, although the latest of them, UGA, is a masterpiece of its genre. We know little of the early circulation of these texts, although the incorporation of both UGA and *Wohunge* into the fourteenth-century *A Talkyng of the Love of God* suggests that they must have circulated together, although they do not appear together in any surviving manuscript.³ Yet, the fact that UGA did circulate with *Wohunge* at some point in its history is another indication that the dissemination of these prayers was wider than the surviving manuscript evidence shows. Unlike *Ancrene Wisse* and the texts of the Katherine Group, however, the short Wooing Group prayers likely originally circulated on scrolls or individual leaves.⁴ Even *Wohunge* itself is not long – it fills only five and a half double-columned folios in the Titus manuscript.⁵ The Nero prayers are even shorter: UUL is approximately two and a half folios; UGA is three and a half folios; OSM fills three folios; LUL three and a half folios.

That prayers such as those of the Wooing Group circulated individually is consistent with the information on the anchoress’s prayers found in *Ancrene Wisse*.⁶ In the mixed audience for whom *Ancrene Wisse* was written, some of the anchoresses were fully literate; in Part 1 the author refers to the Hours that the anchoress has written down,⁷ and in Part 8 he explicitly forbids his readers to teach children or to write anything without leave, although the text suggests that they are allowed to write and to send or receive letters with the permission of their religious advisor.⁸ Not all anchoresses could write, however; elsewhere, the author refers to prayers which had been written out for them.⁹ The anchoresses also shared and exchanged scrolls and booklets.¹⁰ The author assumes this as part of the devotional culture of his time; for example, he tells his readers, ‘Þe ureisuns þet Ich nabbe buten ane imerket beoð iwriten oueral . . . Leoteð written on a scrowe hwet-se 3e ne kunnen’ (‘Copies of the prayers that I have only referred to briefly . . . are available everywhere. Have any that you do not know by heart copied on to a scroll’).¹¹ This suggests that prayers and meditations like those of the Wooing Group circulated far more widely on scrolls or individual leaves and in booklets than the more sturdy surviving manuscripts can bear witness to.

As noted above, Nero is the work of two scribes: the first (Scribe A) copied *Ancrene Wisse*, and the second (Scribe B) copied the Wooing Group prayers, an English version of the Creed and two brief Latin texts.¹² The additions made by Scribe B date to the 1240s, as does the manuscript itself.¹³ The inclusion of the four shorter Wooing Group prayers as a group in Nero presents a unique view into the way in which later authors/scribes viewed the needs of their readers and the guidance that they sought to provide for the devotion of the individual soul, sometimes reading against the grain of new developments in vernacular spirituality in favour of a more conservative approach.

History of composition

The early thirteenth century was a time of great spiritual upheaval in response to the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), and a time in which the church was paying particular attention to the needs of the laity. The four earliest Wooing Group texts thus come at a time when vernacular devotional literature was undergoing significant change. These are prayers that are finding their way between the old and the new.

Written by an anonymous monk, *On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi* (UUL) was likely the earliest of the Wooing Group prayers to be composed. UUL is often omitted from the ranks of the Wooing Group, most notably by Thompson (who considered its rhyme and metre, as well as its content, to be too different from the other prayers), and Savage and Watson (who felt that its association with the other prayers and, particularly, its anchoritic nature, had not been sufficiently established).¹⁴ The most often-cited argument against the inclusion of UUL is that it is male-voiced. *Wohunge* is a powerful and moving direct address from the soul to Christ, and the speaker is specifically an anchoress. It has generally been assumed that the other Wooing Group prayers are (or should be, in the case against UUL) also female-voiced. And, indeed, the two shorter prayers that address Christ directly are explicitly female-voiced: in LUL the speaker characterizes herself as a virgin (*meiden*, l. 88, cp. l. 115); in UGA the speaker is a woman who has renounced the world (ll. 42–52).¹⁵ But OSM, addressed to the Virgin Mary, is gender-neutral; although it has usually been understood to be female-voiced, there is nothing in the prayer to suggest the gender or identity of the speaker. So, all of the Wooing Group prayers are not female-voiced – only the ones addressed directly to Christ. OSM is also closer in date to UUL (also addressed to the Virgin Mary); indeed, if UUL is included as the earliest of the Wooing Group prayers, OSM acts as a transitional text between it and the other prayers. The male-voiced UUL is not as out of place, in terms of the gendered voice of its narrator, as has always been assumed.

Indeed, UUL is not only appropriate for inclusion in the Wooing Group, it provides a crucial example of the context in which the author of *Ancrene Wisse* instructs his readers that the Virgin Mary is a model for all women, but particularly for anchoresses. UUL embodies the formal veneration of the cult of the Virgin Mary, an earlier form of devotion than that found in the later Wooing Group prayers.¹⁶ Yet, as it reflects upon and integrates the imagery found in the later anchoritic texts, UUL provides a fitting introduction to the Nero prayers. In addition, UUL is an integral part of the structure of Scribe B's addition in Nero. As Charlotte Allen suggests, 'once "On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi" is seen in its proper context as the first of four brief prayers in English to Christ and Mary copied into the Nero manuscript, a certain artfulness in their arrangement can be discerned'.¹⁷ The texts form two balanced pairs: an *Ureison* to *ure Lefdi* (UUL), followed by an *Ureison* to God (UGA), and *Be oreisun of seinte Marie* (OSM) followed by a *Lofsong* to *ure Louerde* (LUL).¹⁸

Be oreisun of seinte Marie is also early. The inclusion of a fragment of OSM in London, British Library, MS Royal 17 A.xxvii (henceforth Royal), which is dated to c.1225–30, indicates that it was probably written before 1225. OSM is on the last folio and breaks off mid-sentence at the end of the leaf, which is also the end of a gathering, indicating that an entire gathering (or more) is missing from the original manuscript. The fact that Royal contains all of the Katherine Group texts¹⁹ except *Hali Meidhad* suggests that it was copied before *Hali Meidhad* was written.²⁰

On lofsong of ure louverde was probably a source for a passage in *Hali Meiðhad*, suggesting that it, too, should be dated early, likely before 1225.²¹ This would make UUL, OSM and LUL among the earliest of the *Ancrene Wisse* Group, pre-dating both *Hali Meiðhad* and *Ancrene Wisse* itself. These three Wooing Group prayers thus come very early indeed in the production of vernacular devotional texts in the thirteenth century.

On wel swuðe god urieson of God almihti is more difficult to date. It is unlikely that it belongs to this early stage of production; in tone and content it is closer to *Wohunge* and probably represents a transitional stage. In fact, UGA was almost certainly a source for *Wohunge*, which dates from the late 1230s–40s, and possibly for *Ancrene Wisse* itself. Both Scribe B's additions to Nero and the fragment of UGA added to the end of London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487 date to the 1240s.²² There is thus no manuscript evidence that it was composed earlier than the late 1230s. The fact that the two versions of the text differ enough to suggest different exemplars does, however, indicate that by c.1240 there were at least three or four copies in circulation. The inclusion of all four of the Wooing Group prayers in Nero also indicates that by the 1240s they were circulating together and were considered, at least by Nero's Scribe B, to be a coherent group. The fact that Nero does not contain *Wohunge* may indicate that *Wohunge* had not come to the attention of Scribe B, either because it had not yet been written or because it was circulating independently at the time of Scribe B's activity.

The Wooing Group prayers and the development of affective devotion

The earliest poem, UUL, is a prayer to the Virgin Mary, intended to express the speaker's devotion to her and expressed in the terms of the cult that had arisen around her. Written in rhyming couplets (unlike the other Wooing Group prayers), in style it reflects the 'newest' or most 'modern' poetic form. The monk who composed UUL identifies his prayer as a 'lai' or song, deliberately choosing a secular genre popularized by Marie de France, and signalling a French courtly influence.

The first part of the poem, ll. 1–82, praises the Virgin Mary using the language of the romance lyric, rich in feudal imagery. The Virgin is presented both as the great courtly lady of courtly love rhetoric and the feudal lord; Mary reigns in heaven over a court composed of angels and her worshippers, whom she rewards with rich gifts. The joys of heaven are described in detail; games, dances and music abound in an idyllic setting of flowers in full bloom and a temperate clime where no harsh weather ever comes.

In the second part of the poem, ll. 83–172, the speaker appeals to the Virgin Mary as an intercessor for her loving servants. In her compassion and mercy, she prays for those who toil on earth, easing their worldly cares as well as rewarding their devotion in heaven. Both as the model of virtue and purity and as Christ's loving mother, she is well situated to intercede for her devotees. Her pure intercession can help her servants turn from sin, and her appeal to the five wounds of her beloved son can help heal the wounds of the human soul. But her most important qualification, which overrides both her purity and her motherhood, is her status as the Queen of Heaven, and the object of courtly love.

The speaker of the poem presents himself as both lover and servant in terms drawn from the courtly love lyric. He asserts his absolute devotion to and dependence upon the Virgin Mary, offering the service of his love. He labours and sighs for his love, forsaking

all that was dear to him and voluntarily entering into the bondage of love. But he also acknowledges the great distance between them, lamenting that his sinfulness is a barrier and promising to do penance. He expresses his love-longing for her in terms of love wounds and lovesickness that can be healed only by her mercy. In the end, he prays for her intercession on his behalf, hoping that she will be merciful to himself and his brethren, since he has composed and sung this lay in her honour.

UUL thus combines the practice of devotion to the Virgin with the imagery of courtly love. The poem clearly sets out the basics of the cult of the Virgin Mary, providing a useful summary for a reader who wished for a model of prayer. In form and imagery, it draws upon the romance lyrics that would have been familiar to aristocratic readers of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, suggesting that it may have been intended for a wider audience than a community of monks – perhaps even written for a lay patron(ess) in the same manner as Anselm wrote for aristocratic women in the early twelfth century.²³

OSM is an altogether different kind of poem. Rather than a celebration of the cult of the Virgin Mary, it is a form of confession couched in the terms of penitential devotion later seen in *Ancrene Wisse*.²⁴ The prayer acknowledges the ungended speaker's sin by moving through a formal structure that provides mnemonic devices for cataloguing both the sources and the forms of sin: the three enemies of the soul (the world, the flesh and the Devil); the five bodily wits or senses, and the seven deadly sins.

The speaker then turns to a petition for the Virgin's intercession. However, unlike UUL, OSM grounds Mary's ability to intercede on behalf of the soul not primarily in her status as Queen of Heaven, but in her motherhood. She is the vehicle of the Incarnation, and the loving mother of the one who suffered and died to redeem humankind. The prayer for intercession thus focuses on the sufferings of Christ's life and Passion, rather than the joys of the courts of heaven or the sufferings of the love-sick suitor. OSM thus incorporates the Passion meditation that will characterize the rest of the Wooing Group (without, however, the affective force of UGA and *Wohunge*). The focus of the text remains fixed on confession and repentance. Christ's Passion is the means by which the soul is redeemed; meditation upon it is intended to stress the magnitude of Christ's gift and inspire feelings of guilt for sin. Yet, compassion for Christ's sufferings is borne by his mother, and forms the basis of the soul's appeal to her. Finally, OSM firmly roots the speaker's confession and appeal in the context of the church and its sacraments, the vehicles through which forgiveness is transmitted to the believer.

LUL moves the reader into a more affective, personal devotion. Rather than appealing for intercession through a third party (the Virgin Mary), LUL is a direct address from the female soul to Christ. The prayer opens with a rehearsal of Christ's works, initiating the reader into a brief history of salvation, beginning with Christ's deeds on earth – his birth, his teachings, his sufferings, his death – and continues with his resurrection and ascension, the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and the final Judgement. It then moves on to the founding of the church, with its sacraments, as the agent of Christ's action in the present. Having grounded salvation firmly within the realm of church and sacrament, LUL takes the reader through an examination of her own sin which is rooted in an agonized meditation on Christ's sufferings in the Passion. While it draws upon the familiar imagery of the battle of the soul with its three deadly foes (a battle taken on by Christ upon the cross) and the wounds of the five senses (healed by Christ's five wounds), LUL takes the reader far beyond the simple rehearsal of sin found in OSM. This is a passionate, and personal,

meditation upon the great act of suffering love that redeems the individual soul, ending with the hope of spiritual union with Christ on the cross through penitential *imitatio Christi* in a direct appeal to Paul's words in Galatians 2: 20: 'ich liuie / nout ich, / auh crist liueð in me' ('I live – / not I, / but Christ liveth in me' ll. 66–8).

The language of the poem is steeped with the affective imagery of the Song of Songs, popularized in the Cistercian tradition with the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux. The speaker acknowledges the great distance between herself and her beloved in a series of contrasts that emphasize his worthiness and her own lack thereof. But these contrasts also emphasize his generosity and love: if she forsakes the false counsel of the world, he will give her his wisdom; if she forsakes the false comfort of worldly things, he will give her the comfort of heavenly joy; if she forsakes the love of unworthy things, he will bestow his great love upon her. The final contrast, between the bitterness of the world and the sweetness of Christ's love, introduces a section that describes the rewards of making the correct choice in passionate terms of sweetness, fire and comforting love. Acknowledging that her debt of sin has been paid with the free gift of Christ's love, the reader cries out: 'Hwat mote ich milȝfule louerd to þe?' ('What can I do for you, merciful Lord', l. 175). The answer is that she can only rely upon him, who wills what is best for her and has the power and the love to accomplish it.

If LUL introduces the reader to the passionate world of affective devotion, UGA envelops her in it. After a passionate opening invocation addressing Christ in the language of love, UGA begins with a consideration of the attributes of Christ which make him beloved: his fair face, upon which the angels gaze in delight; his cosmic brightness, which shadows the sun; the fire of his love, which transforms the sinful heart into a bower fit to receive him.²⁵ The reader is then drawn into a consideration of the choice between worldly and heavenly love and the necessity of turning from one to the other, in a complete transformation of heart and soul. The difficulty of such a turning is expressed in terms of the divine embrace. Christ hangs on the cross with his arms outstretched to embrace the speaker, and if she wishes to be embraced by him in heaven, she must accept the embrace of suffering; more, she must throw herself between his arms spread out on the cross.²⁶ It is only through sharing his suffering that she can share in his joy.

The transient nature of union with Christ on earth is again expressed in a series of contrasts, as sin creates a barrier between the soul and her beloved. The bitterness of the world is contrasted with the sweetness of Christ's love, and the estrangement of the soul is countered by his wooing. But UGA does not simply repeat the imagery of LUL: the author reconstructs and enlarges it. For example, the familiar imagery of the five wounds of Christ which heal the wounds of the five senses is expanded as Christ's wounds become wells which provide a healing and cleansing bath for the soul. The final goal of indwelling union with Christ on the cross is, again, expressed in the words of St Paul.

The speaker does pray to the Virgin Mary as intercessor, but while her honour and status as both maiden and mother are acknowledged, the appeal is based more on the need of sinners, both for Christ's Incarnation and death, and for Mary's intercession on their behalf. Her power to intercede is expressed in the regal image of Christ standing upon the cross as if on a royal dais, with one arm outstretched towards her, and his head bowed in accession to her will and in acknowledgement of her worthiness.

The image of Mary standing beneath the cross moves the speaker from acknowledging her as intercessor to remembering her as model. Here, Mary is not a model of virginal

purity but of suffering love, as she stands beneath the cross with St John the Evangelist, exhibiting a degree of sorrow not to be matched in the human heart. As the speaker learns to behold these three ‘standings’ (Christ on the cross, the Virgin Mary and St John beneath it), her gaze becomes the vehicle of transformation, kindling the fire of love in her heart and driving out the coldness of sin as she recognizes the cross as her only refuge.

I have described the affective movement of the prayer in the indicative affirmative; however, the prayer itself more often expresses both the speaker’s love and desolation in a series of rhetorical questions and exclamations. Her love, in particular, is often expressed in the negative – ‘why do I not . . .?’ – emphasizing that the goal of spiritual indwelling is not only difficult but as yet unachieved. Even if, through prayer and meditation, the reader does find transient moments of blissful union, it is an indwelling which cannot endure, and which will never be fully achieved on earth. Nevertheless, the goal of transforming the heart into an abode worthy of Christ is not hopeless, and the reward is not infinitely delayed. Through prayer and meditation, the reader can experience fire of devotion and the sweetness of love, however imperfectly.

UGA masterfully combines modes and motifs from the three other prayers: the cult of the Virgin; Mary as intercessor; Mary as model; Passion meditation, and affective devotion to Christ. This combination suggests that the author of UGA knew the other three prayers, or that these motifs were so common as to be pervasive. Verbal echoes in the text tend to confirm that the author knew at least LUL.²⁷ At the same time, UGA moves beyond the other three prayers in its focus on the Passion and the deeply affective imagery with which the reader meditates upon it, transforming the individual motifs of the other prayers into an integrated stand-alone Passion meditation and prayer. UGA thus represents the height of affective piety at the time of its writing, to be outdone only by its successor, *Wohunge*.²⁸

Studied in the order in which they were written, then, the four earliest prayers of the Wooing Group show a progression of vernacular spiritual writings in response to the rising affective devotion of the early thirteenth century. The prayers demonstrate a movement away from devotion rooted in church and cult towards a more affective and individualized devotion, rooted in meditation on Christ’s Passion and the role of such meditation in the anchoritic life. The texts also reflect a movement away from veneration of the Virgin Mary as intercessor towards an affective response to the Virgin Mary as model – and, indeed, away from devotion to the Virgin Mary herself towards devotion to Christ in his Passion, where she plays a smaller role.

The history of the composition of these four prayers thus shows a clear development in the affective piety of the early thirteenth century. Significantly, the prayers also show a response by their authors to an increasingly Christ-centred devotion on the part of women religious, such as anchoresses. The earliest prayer, focused on the cult of the Virgin Mary, is male-voiced (UUL). Then comes OSM, again addressed to the Virgin Mary, which is gender-neutral. Finally, LUL and UGA, the most affective poems, addressed to Christ in his Passion, are explicitly female-voiced. The prayers thus show the movement from the male monastic milieu to the female anchoritic milieu, completed by *Wohunge*, where the speaker is an anchoress.

Yet, the prayers are accessible for readers of both genders, as the metaphor of the soul as the bride of Christ was firmly entrenched in the tradition of affective devotion by the early thirteenth century. That Nero’s Scribe B found the prayers effective for the devotions of both male and female readers is suggested by his addition of these prayers to the

manuscript as a group. However, as we shall see, the order in which the texts are found in Nero suggests a different kind of structure and progression than the historical movement traced above.

The Nero manuscript

As noted above, the Wooing Group prayers in Nero were added by Scribe B to the work of Scribe A, who copied *Ancrene Wisse*. Savage and Watson suggest that 'Nero adds three of them in a few spare folios to its copy of *Ancrene Wisse*; they therefore seem to have been regarded, relatively speaking, as ephemera.'²⁹ However, as noted above, the Wooing Group prayers most likely had a far wider circulation than their survival in extant manuscripts suggests, circulating individually on single sheets or scrolls; indeed, it is possible that this is the form in which Nero's Scribe B found them. And, while it is certainly possible that Scribe B was, as Savage and Watson suggest, merely filling up the blank leaves at the end of the manuscript, the collation suggests otherwise; there is another full gathering following the one in which UUL begins. This gathering seems to have been assembled from loose leaves and folios, sometime after Scribe A copied *Ancrene Wisse*, intending it to be the sole contents of the manuscript.³⁰ This suggests that the Wooing Group prayers were intentionally added as a group by a scribe who did not have access to enough vellum to construct a formal gathering yet was determined to combine these prayers together for a specific purpose.

A more detailed look at the ordering of the prayers in Nero reveals a careful and deliberate programme of guidance for the reader. Rather than the historical progression seen above, Nero's Scribe B presents a specific devotional model, reintegrating personal devotion into devotion rooted in church and sacrament. The mindful arrangement of the four Wooing Group prayers indicates that Scribe B deliberately added them as practical material to guide his readers in their private devotions. By alternating prayers addressed to the Virgin Mary with those addressed to Christ, the manuscript integrates the role of Mary as intercessor with her role as a model for the devout life, both in her chaste purity and in her affective response to the Passion.³¹ Significantly, the prayers also alternate the male-voiced or gender neutral prayers with the female-voiced devotions, suggesting that the texts were meant for a wider audience, including readers of both genders.

It is possible that the Wooing Group prayers were added when the Nero manuscript moved from the hands of an anchoress to a lay owner. This might explain the hurried nature of the final gathering, constructed, as noted above, of loose leaves and folios. In any case, Scribe B provides a carefully constructed set of prayers which enable the reader to put the teachings of *Ancrene Wisse* into practice in his or her daily life.

The prayers begin with the male-voiced UUL (the first of the texts to be written), celebrating the Virgin Mary as the mother of Christ, whose obedient assent inaugurates the process of Incarnation, death and resurrection that enables the salvation of the soul. Scribe B then moves directly to the female-voiced UGA (the last of the four texts to be composed), with its impassioned meditation on and celebration of Christ's love displayed and rooted in the Passion. These first two texts, then, open the sequence with devotion that is expressed in the language of love and desire, drawing from the language of secular love lyrics and focussing on union with Christ. UUL celebrates the cult of the Virgin

Mary; UGA, however, quickly moves the reader to meditation upon the Passion and the affective language of the Song of Songs, conveying the culmination of the textual and devotional process outlined above.

The opening two prayers are followed by OSM, a purely confessional text addressed to the Virgin Mary. With its careful structure and its detailed rehearsal of sin, OSM is an example of a typical form of confession, enabling the reader to prepare for the sacrament of confession to a priest, but also to confess his or her sin privately to the Virgin Mary and pray for her intercession. Yet, the order of the texts here roots this confession in the Passion meditation which precedes it (UGA), rather than presenting it as a stand-alone prayer to the Virgin. The more rudimentary Passion material in OSM, therefore, appears not as an historical prelude to the more sophisticated Passion meditation of UGA, but as its textual sequel, assuming (and affirming) the depth of affective devotion of the preceding prayer.

Finally, Scribe B moves the reader into LUL, which, as we have seen, combines the confessional mode of OSM with the affective devotion to the Passion of UGA, highlighting the transformation of the soul by which union with Christ in love and death can be accomplished and maintained. Ending the prayer sequence with LUL emphasizes that the ecstatic joy and love expressed in UUL and UGA is not an end which can be fully achieved in earthly life, but a state which will alternate with the grief and sorrow of sin. Union with Christ can only be fully accomplished in heaven; on earth it is necessary to maintain a careful vigilance against the sin that will invariably enter the heart and threaten to cast Christ out. The constant interplay between sorrow and joy, sin and penance, isolation and union characterizes the life of the enclosed or lay reader, and the texts are set up in a way that will enable him or her to maintain the cycle of meditation upon his or her own unworthiness and Christ's great love. The final lines of LUL, however, end the prayer cycle on a note of confident assertion of Christ's love:

Hwat mote ich mil3fule louerd to þe þat alle þing meiht,
 ant const,
 ant wult wel don,
 ant wult al þat god is,
 al þat me euer is need?
 Ich biseche þe,
 Godd of alle godd ful wið þeos þreo wordes:
 ase þu meiht,
 ant const,
 ant wult (ll. 175–84)

(What can I do for you, merciful Lord, who may,
 and can,
 and will do all things well,
 and who wills all that is good,
 all that I ever need?
 I beseech you,
 God full of all good, with these three words:
 as you may,
 and can,
 and will.)

Conclusion

The Wooing Group prayers were composed and circulated in the first instance as part of the process of compiling a body of literature to supplement the devotion of anchoresses such as those to whom *Ancrene Wisse* was addressed. But the Wooing Group prayers were not only used and read by anchoresses. *Wohunge* itself is found only in Titus, which contains a version of *Ancrene Wisse* that has been altered for an audience that includes men (and partially altered back again); the Titus version clearly shows that the readers of anchoritic literature had evolved very quickly – indeed, within twenty years of its original composition it has undergone at least two alterations for new audiences (the Titus exemplar and Titus itself). The survival of *Wohunge* in Titus suggests that it, too, had been adopted by a varied readership.

The Wooing Group prayers are thus not only part of the development of anchoritic literature, but also of the movement of this literature from an anchoritic audience to a lay audience. This is nowhere clearer than in the process of the composition of the Nero manuscript. The original manuscript contained only *Ancrene Wisse*, copied by Scribe A. Yet, at some time very early in its existence, Scribe B felt it not merely useful, but necessary to add four of the Wooing Group prayers. And, as we have seen, Scribe B's work shows the deliberate arrangement of what might have been, in the first place, a collection of individual prayers circulating on loose sheets into an ordered programme enabling the reader to enact the devotional teachings of *Ancrene Wisse* in daily devotions that might, for a lay reader, be necessarily less structured than the prayers and devotions set out for the anchoress in Part 1.

The importance of the Wooing Group in providing individual prayers for individual devotees cannot be underestimated. Scribe B's addition of the Wooing Group prayers and, especially, the order in which they were copied, made the manuscript appropriate for a new class of readers: simple, devout laypersons. As we have seen, the history of the composition of the texts shows a gradual movement away from monastic liturgy and cult towards individual (and female) devotion in vernacular prayers. In response to this, Scribe B has ordered the texts in a way that reintegrates personal devotion into devotion rooted in church and sacrament. Perhaps recognizing the potential dangers of the vernacular movement seen in the history of the composition of the Wooing Group prayers, Scribe B presents his (mixed-gendered) readers with a careful and deliberate programme of reading, based on a specific devotional model intended for readers who do not have the foundation of professional religious training or, perhaps, the time to concentrate their lives around the devotional world represented in *Ancrene Wisse*. Scribe B intuitively feels the need for a book suitable for lay use which encourages individual devotion but grounds it firmly in the liturgy and practice of the church. The Nero manuscript thus reflects the movement of the audience of vernacular prayers from women recluses to lay readers; it also reflects the 'politics' of that movement, as Scribe B orders his material to quietly counteract the historical movement of individual devotion away from church and cult.

Notes

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- ¹ The reader will notice that I have not used the older abbreviations employed by Geoffrey Shepherd, which are based on translated titles (*Ancrene Wisse: Parts Six and Seven* (1959; Exeter: Short Run Press, 1985) p. xiv). I have chosen instead to use the abbreviations introduced by Bella Millett in her recent edition of and commentary on *Ancrene Wisse* (*Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 402, with Variants from other Manuscripts*, vol. II, EETS OS 326 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. lvii). Millett's clearer, more accessible abbreviations will, I hope, become standard with the publication of her edition. Millett has not included *On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi* in the Wooing Group; however, following her lead, I have used the abbreviation UUL. See below for my reasons for including this prayer in the Wooing Group.
- ² For the development of lay spirituality and its relationship to *Ancrene Wisse*, see Cate Gunn, *Ancrene Wisse: From Pastoral Literature to Vernacular Spirituality* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008).
- ³ See Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), pp. 336, n.30, 429, n.7; see also Sr M. Salvina Westra, *A Talkyng of Be Love of God, edited from MSs. Vernon (Bodleian 3938) and collated with MS Simeon (Brit. Mus. Add. 22283), with Introduction, Notes, Phonology, Grammar, Glossary and other apparatus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1950), pp. xvii–xxii.
- ⁴ Savage and Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality*, p. 29. See further Ralph Hanna, 'Lambeth Palace Library, MS 487: some problems of early thirteenth-century textual transmission', in Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker (eds), *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2009), pp. 78–88. Hanna argues that rather than 'the designed product of an "AB community"' suggested by Dobson's 'Wigmore texts' and the theory of a coherent group based on the study of Bodley 34, the Wooing Group and the Katherine Group were likely 'a much less centralized and organized group of texts, available only fitfully and sporadically to book producers and the readers they served' (pp. 87–8). Hanna notes that Titus, like London, Lambeth Palace, MS 487 (hereafter Lambeth), which includes a fragment of *On wel swuðe god urieson of God almihti*, is 'a gathering of separable fragments', combined in quires that were copied as the exemplars became available (p. 86). He argues that 'the quiring evidence, like that of Lambeth, would suggest that this manuscript [Titus] developed as a series of accretions', consisting originally of only *Ancrene Wisse* (like Nero) (p. 86). He also argues that *Wohunge* (bracketed by *Hali Meidhad* and *Seinte Katerine*) is, nevertheless, from a completely different source from the Katherine Group texts contained in the manuscript (pp. 86–7). This supports the conclusion that these texts originally circulated in small pamphlets or scrolls containing a single text, or, as in the case of *Wohunge* and UGA, two short texts. For Hanna's analysis of Lambeth's gatherings, see pp. 80–5.
- ⁵ The text of *Wohunge* runs from the top of col. 2 on f. 127r, to 132v, col. 2, thus taking up eleven columns.
- ⁶ See Bella Millett (ed.), *Ancrene Wisse: A Corrected Edition of the Text in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402, with Variants from other Manuscripts*, vol. I, EETS OS 325 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Part 1.4, p. 9. Hereafter, references to *Ancrene Wisse* will be from this edition, cited by part, paragraph, line number (where applicable) and page number.
- ⁷ Millett I, 1.4.86, p. 9.
- ⁸ Millett I, 8.25–6, p. 161.

- ⁹ Millett I, 1.28, p. 18.
- ¹⁰ Millett I, 4.58.989–90, p. 94; 4.90.1511–14, p. 107.
- ¹¹ Millett I, 1. 353–8, p. 17; all translations are from Bella Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse/Guide for Anchoresses: A Translation based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402*, Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), where the page numbers are the same as the edition. The fact that the author suggests that copies of the prayers are ‘available everywhere’ suggests that Hanna’s conclusion that such prayers were available to copyists only sporadically might need to be re-evaluated. Or, perhaps, there were two cultures of circulation available in the early thirteenth century: one, an informal circulation of scrolls and pamphlets amongst anchoresses (and perhaps the laity) who lived at the margins of institutional religion; another, more formal but less abundant, circulation of manuscripts amongst monks within the formal structures of institutional religion, for whom the vernacular prayers were indeed available only sporadically. Ironically, this might imply that vernacular prayers were more readily available through the former, informal, culture of textual dissemination than within the institution which, formally at least, attended to the instruction of those who read these prayers.
- ¹² See Mabel Day (ed.), *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, Edited from Cotton Nero A.XIV, on the Basis of a Transcript by J. A. Herbert*, EETS OS 225 (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. xvi. In an unpublished paper presented at the International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo, Charlotte Allen describes the Latin texts as ‘six rhyming couplets about the transitory nature of life spoken by Christ on the cross and . . . a highly affective prose text about Christ’s passion here attributed to Bernard’ (‘Thirteenth-century English religious lyrics as meditative texts’, unpublished paper read at the International Medieval Congress, Kalamazoo, MI, 2006. Used by permission.)
- ¹³ See Hanna, ‘Lambeth’, p. 85. Hanna suggests a date of c.1240 for the Nero manuscript itself. Bella Millett suggests a dating somewhere in the 1240s; similarly, Titus also dates from the 1240s (Millett I, pp. xix, xxiv).
- ¹⁴ See W. Meredith Thompson (ed.), *De Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, EETS OS 241 (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. xiv, n. 1; Savage and Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality* p.428, n.1.
- ¹⁵ See also Millett II, p. xi and n. 10. All references to the prayers of the Wooing Group are from my forthcoming edition and translation, *De Wohunge of Ure Lauerd and Related Texts: Thirteenth-century Passion Meditation* (Peterborough: Broadview Press).
- ¹⁶ See Denis Renevey, ‘Enclosed desires: a study of the Wooing Group’, in William F. Pollard and Robert Boenig (eds), *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), p. 48.
- ¹⁷ ‘Thirteenth-century English religious lyrics’.
- ¹⁸ I have argued the case for the inclusion of UUL in detail in my forthcoming edition, *De Wohunge of Ure Lauerd and Related Texts*.
I.e. Sawles Warde, Seinte Katerine, Seinte Margarete and Seinte Juliene.
- ¹⁹ Savage and Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality*, p. 333, n. 12.
- ²⁰ See Bella Millett (ed.), *Hali Meidhad*, EETS OS 284 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. xx–xxi; see also Savage and Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality*, p. 415, n. 37.
- ²¹ Lambeth, ff. 65v–67r. See Hanna, ‘Lambeth’, p. 81. Lambeth itself is dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, or earlier. It also contains the ‘Lambeth Homilies’, including five of the ‘Trinity Homilies’ (a collection of sermons found in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 14. 52). Millett notes that ‘Lambeth is linked to the *Ancrene Wisse* Group both by language and manuscript tradition’ and suggests that it was ‘designed primarily for a listening audience’ (Millett II, p. xxvi).
- ²² The tradition of clerics writing prayers and meditations for aristocratic patrons is a longstanding one. Anselm was noted for his writings for aristocratic women, and his Prayers and Meditations provide interesting models for texts like the Wooing Group. See *Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm with the Proslogion*, ed. and trans. Benedicta Ward (New York: Penguin, 1979). See also S. N. Vaughn, *St. Anselm and the Handmaidens of God: A Study of Anselm’s Correspondence with Women* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).
- ²³ See especially Part Four on Temptation, Part Five on Confession and Part Six on Penance.

- ²⁵ Bella Millett discusses the kind of list found here and in *Ancrene Wisse* Part 7 and *Wohunge*, in ‘The “conditions of eligibility” in *De Wohunge of ure Lauerd*’, in Susannah Chewning (ed.), *The Milieu and Context of the Wooing Group* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), pp. 26–47.
- ²⁶ For a study of Christ’s embrace upon the cross and medieval attitudes towards the visual representation of Christ on the crucifix, see Sara Lipton, ‘“The sweet lean of his head”: writing about looking at the crucifix in the high Middle Ages’, *Speculum*, 80, 4 (October 2005), 1172–1208.
- ²⁷ See the more detailed discussion in my forthcoming edition, *De Wohunge of Ure Lauerd and Related Texts*.
- ²⁸ UGA and *Wohunge* are late enough to have been influenced by the Dominicans, who arrived in England in 1221 and founded their first house in the West Midlands c.1232 (although Millett has suggested that the author of *Ancrene Wisse* ‘could have been seconded to a local bishop’s household even before the foundation of Dominican households in the West Midlands’ (Millett (trans.), *Ancrene Wisse*, p. xxiii; see also Millett II, pp. xvi–xix). They are also late enough to have been influenced by the affective piety of the Franciscans, who were brought to England in the early 1220s under the patronage of Stephen Langton and Loretta, countess of Leicester, who was an anchoress in Kent, near Canterbury, but who was also the daughter of William de Braose, one of the most powerful Marcher lords in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries: see Catherine Innes-Parker, ‘*De Wohunge of Ure Lauerd* and the tradition of affective devotion: rethinking text and audience’, in Chewning (ed.), *The Milieu and Context*, pp. 96–122. The Franciscans founded a house in Hereford in 1228. For more on the Franciscan influence on the Titus manuscript, see Savage and Watson (trans.), *Anchoritic Spirituality*, pp. 15, 29.
- ²⁹ Ibid., p. 29. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that their appreciation of the texts is confined to a note.
- ³⁰ See Day, *Ancrene Riwe*, p. ix and Hanna, ‘Lambeth’, p. 85.
- ³¹ Similarly, the prayers and devotions in Part One of *Ancrene Wisse* are dominated by prayers to the Virgin Mary, particularly those in English (i.e. those that the anchoresses – and a lay reader – would have clearly understood); yet, devotion to the Passion is so thoroughly fused with her daily prayers that the two are difficult to separate.

Carmelite Spirituality and the Laity in Late Medieval England*

NAOË KUKITA YOSHIKAWA

The Carmelite Order has its origins in a group of contemplative hermits living on Mount Carmel.¹ Although they maintained the pre-eminence of contemplation at the root of their spirituality, the Carmelites underwent a radical change when they moved to Europe. As they established themselves in urban areas, the Carmelites became involved in pastoral duties as confessors, spiritual advisers and preachers, influenced by the evangelical movement of the late Middle Ages.² In England, the Carmelite friars especially enjoyed a reputation as nurturers of talented scholars who contributed to the spiritual education of the laity. Carmelites Richard Lavenham (b.1340s) and Richard Maidstone (d.1396) wrote the vernacular treatises *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* and *The Seven Penitential Psalms*³ respectively, while Felip Ribot (d.1391) produced *Liber de institutione primorum monachorum* (c.1385), a mystical treatise which was widely circulated among the Carmelites in the early fifteenth century, and probably made an impact on the devout laity, such as Margery Kempe.⁴

This chapter takes up the English Carmelite scholars, Thomas Netter of Walden (c.1372–1430) and Alan of Lynn (c.1348–1432), both of whom were active in pastoral care in the early fifteenth century. Thomas Netter, Prior Provincial of the English Carmelites from 1414, was one of the most prominent figures in anti-Lollard campaigns and international ecclesiastical politics in the early fifteenth century.⁵ He attended the heresy trial of John Badby in London, engaged in debates at Oxford with Peter Payne⁶ and was also present in 1413 at the examination of Oldcastle before Archbishop Thomas Arundel. His anti-Lollard treatise, the *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae* (hereafter *Doctrinale*), which was directed against the increasing number of followers of John Wycliffe and Jan Huss, reflects his direct experience of the leading English heretics.⁷ One of the most influential events of Netter's life was his travel to the Council of Constance (1414–18), which seems to have reinvigorated his orthodoxy and his determination to address the international problems that were then threatening the church's authority. Back in England, Netter was more anxious than ever to promote the church's orthodox doctrines, for, as Prior Provincial, he was increasingly responsible for pastoral care and was keenly aware of the potentially heterodox issues of revelatory theology, *discretio spirituum* and especially the publicity of women's revelatory experience. As we shall see, Netter's

anxiety is illuminated and contextualized by the *Book of Margery Kempe*,⁸ a spiritual autobiography by a lay woman who associated with the Carmelites in Lynn, Norwich and probably other places that she visited during her life.

Among the Carmelites from whom Margery sought spiritual guidance was Alan of Lynn, who believed in her revelations and had a tremendous influence on her spiritual education.⁹ Alan was a native of Lynn and earned the degree of doctor of divinity at Cambridge. Learned in the Latin and Greek fathers, he is recorded as having been lector at Cambridge from before 1407. Back in Lynn, he was known as a reader in divinity at the community of St Mary Magdalen on the Gaywood Causeway.¹⁰ Indeed, there was a school in the Carmelite Friary in Lynn, in which the latest theological ideas and trends were probably shared and discussed by friars, several of whom were, like Alan of Lynn, doctors of divinity and described as lectors. The cartulary of the Carmelites, which includes various arrangements for corrodies, suggests that the change in personnel was very frequent.¹¹ The mobility of the well-educated friars thus strengthened the Carmelites' academic network and enabled them to maintain their standard of intellectual pursuit. Alan must have imbibed this intellectual enthusiasm of the Carmelites in East Anglia. Besides writing original work himself,¹² he was keen on cataloguing works of mysticism and accommodating the demands of the laity seeking access to the Bible. While lecturing in the *studium* of the Norwich convent, he worked primarily as an industrious compiler of numerous indices or tables of contents (*tabulae*) for the large library, probably for the benefit of his students.¹³ That Alan made indexes of the revelations and prophecies of St Bridget is particularly significant for Margery's knowledge about and emulation of Bridget.¹⁴

However, while Alan of Lynn's contribution to Margery's religious education was significant, it seems that he was too supportive of her public visionary experience and her knowledge of scripture to suit her contemporaries and his superior. Margery records that Netter, as Prior Provincial, once imposed a ban on Alan, forbidding him to speak with Margery or to answer any queries that she might have relating to the scriptures in response to a complaint by unidentified 'envious persons':

And þan sum enuyows personys compleynyd to þe Prouincyal of þe White Frerys þat þe sayd doctowr [Alan] was to conuersawnt wyth þe sayd creatur, for-as-mech as he supportyd hir in hir wepyng & in hir crying & also enformyd hir in qwestyons of Scriptur whan sche wolde any askyn hym. Than was he monischyd be vertu of obediens þat he xulde no mor spekyn wyth hir ne enformyn hir in no textys of Scriptur.¹⁵

(And then some envious persons complained to the Provincial of the White Friars that the said doctor was associating too much with the said creature, forasmuch as he supported her in her weeping and in her crying, and also informed her in questions of scripture, when she would ask him any. Then he was admonished, by virtue of obedience, that he should no longer speak with her nor inform her about any texts of scripture.)¹⁶

This injunction reveals Netter's ambivalent view of religious instruction of the laity and sheds light on the tension latent in the Carmelite Order in terms of lay education. Yet, Netter was known as a patron of recluses and keen on their education; indeed, Netter fully supported female recluses with their religious instruction. When Emma Stapleton

(d.1422), daughter of Sir Miles Stapleton (d.1419) of Ingham in Norfolk, was enclosed into an anchorhold attached to the Norwich Carmelite house in 1421, Netter authorized the prior, the sub-prior and three other members of the community to instruct Emma, who specifically sought out an anchorhold with a scholarly reputation.¹⁷ This enabled her to receive intensive instruction from several Carmelite academics.

If Netter supported female anchorites and their education, why, then, was he so opposed to Alan's support and education of a lay woman such as Margery Kempe? How is it that moving outside the anchorhold arouses such suspicion of women's devotion? Given that the ban on Alan's instruction of Margery was issued after the controversial Council of Constance, at which Netter was present as a royal observer or in some other capacity mandated by Henry V,¹⁸ it is important to consider the international controversy debated at the Council of Constance, and its impact on Netter in order to understand the issue of pastoral commitment as it is informed by Margery's book.

* * *

The Council of Constance was summoned by John XXIII on All Saints' Day (1 November) in 1414.¹⁹ Primarily, it had three tasks, two of which were to complete the restoration of papal unity and thus to resolve the Great Schism, and to suppress heresy by condemning Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, for Hus's alleged approval of Wyclif's views 'had lent heresy the air of an internationally subversive conspiracy'.²⁰ The third task was to debate the authenticity of the revelations of St Bridget of Sweden, and to confirm her canonization.²¹ Bridget was canonized in 1391 with Boniface IX's declaration that she had been granted the ability to see visions and revelations through the grace of the Holy Spirit, and to foretell many things through prophetic inspiration. However, because of the internal confusion within the papacy and vague formulations in the papal acts, there remained a shadow of uncertainty over the legitimacy of her canonization. Many delegates called for a re-examination of the *Revelations*, while her supporters sought reconfirmation of her canonization. The latter's petitions were endorsed by, among others, King Henry V of England. The re-confirmation did not take place at the Council of Constance, but was agreed to five years later, on 1 July 1419, by Pope Martin V.²²

Netter's participation in the Council of Constance seems to have increased his awareness of the need for international efforts to fight heresy. Indeed, long before the emergence of the Wyclifite heresy, church authorities were in quandary about how to censor radical revelatory theology, such as the Franciscan apocalypticism of Henry of Costesy. This Joachite commentator, along with Peter Olivi, attracted the English intellectuals, including Alan of Lynn, who compiled a detailed index of Costesy's Apocalypse commentary.²³ As Kathryn Kerby-Fulton points out, Netter clearly connects Wyclif with Joachimism, especially in its connection with Olivi. In the *Doctrinale*, Netter writes: 'jam tardis diebus Abbas Joachim & posit [sic] eum Petrus Joannis [Olivi], ea peste tanguntur' (Now in these latter days, Abbot Joachim and after him Peter John Olivi are touched by this plague),²⁴ and identifies them as heretics to whom Wyclif made himself a disciple.²⁵ Moreover, Anne Hudson argues that Netter sees Wyclif as 'the inheritor of all the errors of the heretics of old, Donatists, Arians, Pelagians, Manichees; Cathars, Waldensians, Berengarians, influenced by their leaders as by Julian, Petilian, Peter Abelard' and that 'he perceived a

relation to William of St Amour, John of Paris, John de Deo, FitzRalph and Ockham²⁶ – most of whom were under suspicion in England for their revelatory and apocalyptic theology, which threatened established doctrines of grace, baptism and church mediation before the Lollards emerged. Furthermore, at the turn of the fifteenth century, there is more English evidence than ever of concern about the heresy of the free spirit, linked to Joachimism and Hussitism on the Continent.

Therefore, Netter's fight against heresy, his suspicion of women's revelations, his concern about *discretio spirituum* and *probatio*²⁷ and his anxiety about the integrity of the Carmelite Order need to be understood as related to the church's ongoing fight against heresy. In particular, I would argue that Netter's suspicion of women's revelations and their *discretio spirituum* was central in shaping his attitude to the instruction of the laity (especially of women) and that it was specifically influenced by the issue of St Bridget's canonization. The debate over her canonization at Constance was initiated by the post-humous attacks against Bridget during 1373–91, which were escalated owing to the increasing emphasis on *discretio spirituum*. Late medieval clerics, particularly during the Great Schism (1378–1417), displayed tremendous anxiety about women's suitability as a channel of the Holy Spirit, for direct inhabitation by the Holy Spirit bypassed the structure of the church. Moreover, as Nancy Caciola argues, lay women's ecstatic and prophetic sanctity and behaviour 'lacked the imprimatur of an antique tradition, a criterion that steadily was gaining ground in the evaluation of sanctity'.²⁸

In the 1380s, Bridget's foremost detractors, Heinrich of Langenstein (d. 1397) and an unidentified master in Perugia, put their objections in writing. Heinrich of Langenstein had doubts about any individuals who claimed to have received revelations directly from God. The Perugian Master, in a misogynist tone, dismissed the divine origin of Bridget's revelations, arguing that as women were prohibited from teaching publicly, Christ would not send them revelations.²⁹ Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson also produced influential treatises and blamed the prophecies of Bridget and Catherine of Siena for the outbreak of the schism. Thus, many leading thinkers thought that the church's recent confusion was rooted in the uncritical veneration of laywomen claiming divine revelation.

Bridget's supporters were particularly troubled by the detractors who dismissed the visions of women as demoniac delusions. In his *Epistola solitarii ad reges*, Alfonso of Jaén wished to counter such detractors and authenticate Bridget's visions by showing how diabolical illusions could be distinguished from visions conferred by the Holy Spirit.³⁰ Among other things, Bridget's meekness and willing submission to her spiritual directors was the principal criterion in Alfonso's claim for her authenticity. But the *Epistola solitarii* was attacked by Jean Gerson, her foremost critic at the council, in his *De probatione spirituum*, written in August 1415. Chancellor of the University of Paris and a prominent member of the council, Gerson expressed scepticism about claims to mysticism that were not ratified institutionally. Moreover, for Gerson, a pupil of d'Ailly and an admirer of Langenstein, 'the uncritical veneration of new saints such as Brigit and Catherine was a symbol of the Church's recent effeminate degradation'.³¹ His *De probatione spirituum* was a commentary on the deliberations of the council over the canonization of Bridget.³²

Netter must have known about this controversy. Significantly, in about 1415, Netter 'issued a general prohibition to stop members of his order from encouraging lay women who publicly proclaimed revelations'.³³ His travel to Constance seems to account largely for his condemnation of women's claims to revelation. Importantly, while Netter had a

reputation for being a patron of female recluses and a supporter of pious women, he attacked any public display of women with spiritual gifts, and connected it with the issue of female preaching. Indeed, his criticism of women's public behaviour appears in the *Doctrinale* in relation to a discussion about 'a foolish woman and clamorous', who 'sat at the door of her house or upon a seat in a high place of the city (Proverbs 9:13–15)'.³⁴ As a seated speaker symbolizes authoritative teaching, he interprets these women as heretics or false doctors, who have usurped the seat of preachers.³⁵ He also states that a Lollard woman publicly preached heresy in London.³⁶ Netter, however, not only declares that the Virgin taught the Apostles after the Ascension but also allows 'more possibility for preaching to women who are virgins, especially virgins under vow, thereby upholding a strict hierarchy'.³⁷

Netter's prohibition adversely affected Alan and Margery's friendship: it resulted in his intervention between them, which seems to have occurred sometime between the autumn of 1417, the period when she was examined on suspicion of heresy, and 1432, the year Alan likely died. More precisely, the incident probably took place in 1424 when Netter, as Prior Provincial, was presiding at a provincial chapter held in Lynn.³⁸

Alan's interest in Margery's revelatory experience was a worrying concern for Netter.³⁹ For the *Book* clearly tells that Alan believed in Margery's revelations and testified to the truth of her experience. His interest in her spirituality lent credibility to the authenticity and veracity of her spiritual experiences. Furthermore, Netter probably thought that Margery's heresy trial might tarnish his order's integrity if she continued to associate with the Carmelites. Indeed, when Margery returned to England from Jerusalem,⁴⁰ she found herself seriously endangered by a Lollard scare. The Lollard movement geographically and historically frames the spiritual space from which her *Book* emerges.⁴¹ Margery's convulsive weeping and white clothes were partly responsible for rousing a suspicion of demonic possession in her community.⁴² She was examined by churchmen for her suspected unorthodoxy and tried as a Lollard.⁴³ Yet, questioning on the articles of the faith never produced any condemnation, but rather confirmed her orthodoxy. Philip Repingdon, bishop of Lincoln, Thomas Peverell, a Carmelite and bishop of Worcester⁴⁴ and Archbishop Arundel were all convinced of her doctrinal rectitude.

However, among Margery's repeated persecutions for suspected heresy, 'the most persistent trouble arose through her constant speaking of the Bible, and the perception of those who heard her that she was preaching'.⁴⁵ A young Canterbury monk reacted harshly to Margery's knowledge of biblical texts (chapter 13); when Margery defended herself before Henry Bowet, the archbishop of York from 1407 to 1423, his clerks claimed that 'sche hath a deuyl wyth-inne hir, for sche spekyth of þe Gospel' (she has a devil in her, for she speaks of the Gospel) and quoted St Paul's edict that 'no woman xulde prechyn' (no woman should preach).⁴⁶ Margery defended herself by arguing that she used communication and good words, rather than preaching. Inhabiting a milieu where '[s]uspicion of a lay person's teaching, multiplied when the lay person was a woman, was constant after [Arundel's] *Constitutions*',⁴⁷ Margery cautiously manoeuvred around complex issues. Nevertheless, there is ambiguity in Margery's claim that she does not preach. Under house arrest in Beverley, Margery told edifying tales from 'the makeshift "pulpit" of an upstairs window',⁴⁸ like a legendary Mary Magdalene preaching in Gaul.⁴⁹

Thus, Margery's public reputation, her emotional excesses, her obvious mobility, her heresy trial, her claim of revelation and the accusation of preaching probably inclined

Netter to censor the friendship between Alan and Margery. Moreover, I would argue that Margery's craving for biblical knowledge fuelled his censorship. We know that she had a priest who privately read to her from devotional books and a Bible glossed by commentators (chapter 58). This went against what appears to have been Arundel's intent to limit the laity's too eager pursuit of the Bible and theological knowledge. Netter probably renewed these convictions through his experience at Constance and connected Margery's excessive interest in the study of scripture with an issue which emerged from Arundel's constitutions and anti-Lollard campaign.⁵⁰

Indeed, Arundel, Netter and their like considered that 'the laity should remain doctrinally ignorant [rather] than that they should, whether through deliberate subversion or through inadvertent arousing of curiosity, succumb to heterodoxy'.⁵¹ As Carole Hill argues, 'there was an inherent risk that familiarity might breed contempt and lead to unconventional belief, with the inevitable accusations of heresy'.⁵² Netter clearly states in the *Doctrinale* that true 'simplicity' of belief alone keeps the people safe:

Hic tamen posset quaeri, quomodo literatis viris Ecclesiae amplior certitudo credibilium donaretur, quam simplici laico, cum uterque solo lumine fidei Christi mysteria contemplator. Responsio. Quia primos, qui apud Apostolum spirituales dicuntur, ipsa primorum principiorum fidei traductio utque ad rem credendam in specie, cognitione quadam certos facit, & indubios: POPULARES VERO SOLA CREDENDI SIMPLICITAS facit tutos, sicut videtur dicere beatus Augustinus contra Epistolam fundamenti.

(This, however, may be asked how it is that fuller certainty of things worthy of belief should be given to lettered men of the church rather than to the simple layman, when both consider the mysteries by the sole light of the faith of Christ. Answer. Because the very handing down of the faith of the first principles makes the former, who are called spirituals by the Apostle [St Paul], sure and undoubted concerning what is to be believed. But as for the general populace, mere simplicity of belief keeps them safe, as the blessed Augustine seems to say, in response to the [Manichaean] Letter of Foundation.)⁵³

This problem can be further explored in the context of lay education by the friars. As H. Leith Spencer argues, by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, orthodox lay people, following the lead of the thirteenth-century Franciscan John of Wales and others, were asking friars about holy living in familiar and mutual conversations. More controversially, 'they were also asking them about awkward passages in the Bible'.⁵⁴ This context helps us to understand Margery's trial in York, where she was required to interpret the verse, '*Crescite et multiplicamini*'.⁵⁵ She consciously discerned wisdom, understanding and knowledge infused by the Holy Spirit, and defended herself with an impeccable answer:

'Ser, þes wordys ben not vndirstondyn only of begetyng of chyldren bodily, but also be purchasyng of vertu, which is frute gostly, as be heryng of þe wordys of God, be good exampyl zeuyng, be mekenes & paciens, charite & chastite, & swech oper'.

(Sir, these words are not only to be understood as applying to the begetting of children physically, but also to the gaining of virtues, which is spiritual fruit, such as by hearing the words of God,

by giving a good example, by meekness and patience, charity and chastity, and other such things).⁵⁶

As Spencer suggests, Margery could have received instruction on controversial passages such as *Crescite et multiplicamini*, a text that was susceptible to heretical interpretations, especially the continental heresy of the free spirit.⁵⁷ This, then, might have been what was intended when envious people complained that Alan ‘enformyd hir in questyons of Scriptur’ (informed her in questions of scripture).⁵⁸ In addition to the contagion of heretical ideas, the general perception of Margery as being too eager to acquire theological knowledge may well have rung bells of alarm for Netter.

It is, however, debatable whether Netter’s view was fully shared by his contemporary Carmelites. There were some Carmelites who, like Alan, were involved in the education of the laity, although their sponsorship of the dissemination of vernacular theology as a form of evangelism sometimes trod a dangerous line. Indeed, Alan is known to have written a tract, *De quattuor sacre scripture sensu* (On the Four Senses of Scripture), now mostly lost but surviving partially in a fragment.⁵⁹ The four senses (ways) of unfolding of scripture are to explain firstly the historical background and literal meaning of a text, to explain allegorically and then figuratively, and finally to give a mystical or eschatological interpretation to the scriptures.⁶⁰ Significantly, Alan records that ‘a Carmelite doctor of our Order, by the name of John Beston, was in the habit, in his preaching on the Sunday epistles and gospels, of carefully explaining the four senses of scripture, which was greatly enlightening to the people’.⁶¹ Although this approach to the scriptures was traditionally scholastic, applying the four senses to preaching suggests the Carmelites’ commitment to easier access to theology for the laity.

Thus, Alan and Netter embody the contrasting attitudes of the Carmelites to the laity. Given that Netter himself was keen on the education of female recluses, his injunction both embodies his hierarchical view of women and sheds light on how Carmelite intellectuals in the early fifteenth centuries oscillated in terms of religious instruction.⁶² Unlike Netter, who was torn between his desire to pursue the evangelical ideal and his commitment to protect the church’s authority, Alan responded to the demands of the laity seeking access to the Bible and enabled Margery to reflect upon the scriptures and argue with authorities in the face of adversity. Moreover, since the Carmelites understood themselves as being ordained to preach the Word of God to people who desired it, Alan was probably a mirror in which Netter reflects himself.

The interaction of these two prominent intellectuals in the order reveals the complicated milieu in which the Carmelites pursued their evangelical ideal in the early fifteenth century. The encounter of the three unique individuals, unfolded in Margery’s book, thus gives us a glimpse into the diversity of Carmelite behaviour in terms of their tutelage of the increasing anxious laity in the urban milieu. Their concern about how to accommodate the spiritual and intellectual life of the aspiring laity remained a mixture of anxiety, commitment and compromise.

Notes

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- ¹ The Rule written between 1206 and 1214 by Albert of Vercelli, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, shows the Carmelites leading an eremitical life and practising perpetual abstinence, fasts and silence. It stresses collective and individual solitude which helps the religious pursue union with God through continuous prayers. See *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (hereafter *NCE*), 'Carmelite spirituality', 18 vols (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), III, p. 114; Richard Copsey (ed. and trans.), *The Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites* (Faversham, Kent: Saint Albert Press; Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2005).
- ² Innocent IV, by the apostolic letter *Quae honorem Conditoris* of 1 October 1247, introduced a change in the Carmelites' lifestyle: *NCE*, 'Carmelite spirituality', III, p. 114. John XXII, by the bull *Sacer ordo vester* (1316), allowed them the following activities: teaching, preaching, spiritual direction and the parochial apostolate. See Eliseo Monsignani and José Alberto Ximénez (eds), *Bullarium carmelitanum*, 4 vols (Rome, 1715–68), I, p. 57. The influence of the Carmelites from the English universities on lay piety is discussed by Bruce P. Flood. See 'The Carmelite friars in medieval English universities and society, 1299–1430', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 55 (1988), 154–83 (168–70).
- ³ Richard Lavynham, *A Litol Tretyz on the Seven Deadly Sins*, ed. J. P. W. M. van Zutphen (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956); P. S. Jolliffe, *A Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), pp. 79–80; Valerie Edden, *Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms*, Middle English Texts 22 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1990).
- ⁴ See my forthcoming article, 'Margery Kempe and Felip Ribot's *Liber de institutione primorum monachorum*', in *Carmel in Britain: Studies on the Early History of the Carmelite Order*, vol. 6 (Faversham, Kent: St Albert Press, forthcoming).
- ⁵ For a comprehensive study on Netter, see Kevin J. Alban, *The Teaching and Impact of the Doctrinale of Thomas Netter of Walden (c.1374–1430)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Johan Bergström-Allen and Richard Copsey (eds), *Thomas Netter of Walden: Carmelite, Diplomat and Theologian (c.1372–1430)* (Faversham, Kent: Saint Albert Press, 2009). For Netter and the anti-Lollard campaigns, see J. A. Robson, *Wyclif and the Oxford Schools* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 232; Margaret Harvey, 'The diffusion of the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries', in Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (eds), *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson* (London: Hambledon, 1992), pp. 281–94 (p. 282).
- ⁶ Johan Bergström-Allen, 'Forward', in *idem* and Copsey (eds), *Thomas Netter of Walden*, pp. 13–20 (p. 15).
- ⁷ On Netter and his *Doctrinale*, see Anne Hudson, 'Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale* and the Lollards', in Bergström-Allen and Copsey (eds), *Thomas Netter of Walden*, pp. 179–97 (p. 180), especially for the dates at which Netter was writing his six books; Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon, 1984), pp. 65–8.
- ⁸ Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen (eds), *The Book of Margery Kempe*, vol. 1, EETS OS 212 (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), hereafter the *Book* in the text and *BMK* in notes. All references to Margery Kempe are from this edition and will be followed by chapter and page number.
- ⁹ Hope Emily Allen identifies Alan as one of Margery's principal confessors (*BMK*, p. 259, n.6/9), but Margery does not specifically mention this. Janette Dillon argues that despite not being her confessor, Alan seems to stand in the analogous role of spiritual director, which may or may not include hearing confession; see 'Holy women and their confessors or confessors and their holy

- women? Margery Kempe and Continental tradition', in Rosalynn Voaden (ed.), *Prophets Abroad: The Reception of Continental Holy Women in Late-medieval England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996), pp. 115–40 (p. 127, n. 38).
- ¹⁰ Margaret Gallyon, *Margery Kempe of Lynn and Medieval England* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1995), p. 131.
- ¹¹ Katharine M. Parker, 'Lordship, liberty and the pursuit of politics in Lynn, 1370–1420' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia, 2004), 44. See also A. G. Little and E. Stone, 'Corrodies at the Carmelite friary of Lynn', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 9 (1958), 8–29 (9, 15–17).
- ¹² His two major original works, now lost, were recorded by Bale (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 73, ff. 139, 208).
- ¹³ See A. B. Emden (ed.), *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 381–2, for the list of his works credited by John Bale. Numerous treatises and exegetical works that he wrote in Latin are now lost. He also wrote indices of the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, John Baconthorpe, the Church Fathers, Felip Ribot's *Ten Books* and the pseudo-Bonaventuran *Stimulus Amoris*.
- ¹⁴ A *tabula* of Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations* (Oxford, Lincoln College, MS Lat. 69, ff. 197 ff.) and an alphabetical index to Bersuire's commentary, *Tabula super 'Reductorio moralitocius Biblie' Petri Berchorii* (London, British Library, MS Royal 3 D iii, ff. 1 ff. [ROE, II, p. 152]) survive. It was probably Alan of Lynn, who instructed Margery in Alfonso of Jaén's defence of St Birgitta. See Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, *Margery Kempe's Meditations: The Context of Medieval Devotional Literature, Liturgy and Iconography* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), p. 64.
- ¹⁵ Ch. 69, p. 168.
- ¹⁶ B. A. Windeatt (trans.), *The Book of Margery Kempe* (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 207. This teaching includes biblical studies typical of Carmelites in Middle Ages.
- ¹⁷ London, British Library, MS Harley 1819, f. 197; Carole Hill, 'Julian and her sisters: female piety in late medieval Norwich', in Linda Clark (ed.), *The Fifteenth Century*, vol. 6 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2006), pp. 165–87 (p. 176). Hill lists several Norwich Carmelite scholars recorded by John Bale; *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie catalogus*, 2 vols (Basle, 1557). Among those who flourished in Emma's lifetime are the international theologian, Adam Hemlyngton, who was appointed her confessor (2: 62); John Thorpe (d. 1440) (1: 579); Henry Wichingham (d. 1448), (1: 585–6); John Kenyngdale (1: 592–3). Copsey, 'Thomas Netter of Walden; a biography', in Bergström-Allen and Copsey (eds), *Thomas Netter of Walden*, pp. 23–111 (p. 80). I would like to thank Dr Carole Hill for access to her article pre-publication.
- ¹⁸ Kevin Alban, 'Thomas Netter: pushing back the boundaries of affiliation in the Carmelite Order' (paper presented at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, UK, 12–15 July 2004). I would like to thank Fr Alban for making his paper available to me. See also Richard Copsey, 'Thomas Netter of Walden: a biography', pp. 56–8.
- ¹⁹ My argument on the council and international controversy pursues the line taken in my previous work, 'The making of *The Book of Margery Kempe*: the issue of *discretio spirituum* reconsidered', *English Studies*, 92 (2011), 119–37.
- ²⁰ C. M. D. Crowder, *Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378–1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p. 7. Crowder also argues that 'in their new dignity as a conciliar nation, the English seem to have felt a particular obligation to disown their heresiarch countryman and anyone influenced by him' (p. 15).
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- ²² Bridget Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), p. 157.
- ²³ The existence of an index for the Apocalypse commentary shows the relative freedom and tolerance of the Carmelite intellectual pursuit: Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 102–3.
- ²⁴ Thomas Netter, *Doctrinale antiquitatum fidei Catholicae Ecclesiae*, ed. Bonaventure Blanciotti, 3 vols (Venice: Antonio Bassano, 1757–9), followed by the book and chapter number and subsequently the volume and column number: book 2, chapter 32, volume I, column 412

- (2.32=i.412). I would like to thank Fr Kevin Alban for generously sharing his time and expertise with me.
- ²⁵ Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*, pp. 79–80.
- ²⁶ Anne Hudson, 'Thomas Netter's *Doctrinale* and the Lollards', in Bergström-Allen and Copey (eds), *Thomas Netter of Walden*, pp. 179–97 (p. 185). For the relevant passages from the *Doctrinale*, see Hudson's notes 35–8.
- ²⁷ The discernment of spirits and proof of authenticity.
- ²⁸ Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 276.
- ²⁹ Claire L. Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden and the Voice of Prophecy* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2001), p. 159.
- ³⁰ Caciola, in *Discerning Spirits*, argues that 'the *Letter* has been termed a piece of "Urbanist propaganda" because of its attempt to rehabilitate Bridget's (and thereby Urban's) names, as both [by then] were regarded as precursors to the Great Schism' (p. 283).
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 289.
- ³² See also Eric Colledge, 'Epistola solitarii ad reges: Alphonse of Pecha as organizer of Birgittine and Urbanist propaganda', *Mediaeval Studies*, 18 (1956), 19–49 (46). The work was seen as a rejection of the Swedish petitions and a subtle refutation of the *Epistola solitarii*.
- ³³ Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*, p. 12, cf. p. 258; David Knowles, *The Religious Order in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948–59), II, p. 199; Allen's note BMK, p. 328, n. 168/5 and her Prefatory note, BMK, p. lvii.
- ³⁴ *Doctrinale*, 2.71= i.627–8. Douay Reims edition of the Bible used throughout.
- ³⁵ Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*, p. 258.
- ³⁶ *Doctrinale*, 2.23= i.362; Hope Emily Allen argues that his attack on women's public behaviour is 'likely to have been at least begun by 1410 when the incident happened'. See her note BMK, p. 259, n. 6/9 sq. See also Margaret Aston, 'Lollard women priests?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), 441–61.
- ³⁷ *Doctrinale*, 3.18= i.760; Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion*, p. 258. See also Kevin Alban, 'The treatment of Mary in the *Doctrinale* of Thomas Netter as a resource for contemporary theology', in Bergström-Allen and Copey (eds), *Thomas Netter of Walden*, pp. 335–61.
- ³⁸ Although his name is not mentioned, he is identified with the Provincial who visited Lynn for the chapter held there, as Margery records in ch. 69. Bergström-Allen, 'Forward', p. 13.
- ³⁹ A similar concern for revelatory theology appears in the *Chastising of God's Children*, in which the author emphasizes the danger of desiring revelations. Joyce Bazire and Eric Colledge (eds), *Chastising of God's Children and Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), p. 145.
- ⁴⁰ She came back in May 1415 or earlier to Norwich, and then made a pilgrimage to Compostella and returned in 1417 to Bristol.
- ⁴¹ William Sawtry, the parish priest of St Margaret's in King's Lynn, was the first Lollard to be burnt in 1401. The persecution took place in the diocese of Norwich from 1428 to 1431. Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428–31*, Royal Historical Society, Camden, 4th series, 20 (London: Offices of the Royal Historic Society, UCL, 1977), p. 8. According to J. Foxe, the number of people examined for heresy during this period in the diocese is as high as about a hundred and twenty: J. Pratt (ed.), *The Acts and Monuments*, 8 vols (4th edn; London, 1877), III, Book 6, p. 587.
- ⁴² See BMK, ch. 44, p. 105.
- ⁴³ Alan was on her side during the period of the heresy trial: on her way to London to obtain a letter and seal of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the final stage of the heresy trial, she came to West Lynn and sent to Lynn for her husband, Master Robert Spryngolde and Alan and told them in part of her tribulations. See BMK, ch. 55.
- ⁴⁴ Bishop Peverell was responsible for Badby's trial. Margery deliberately emphasizes Peverell's hospitality and benediction to ensure her alliance with the orthodox camp. See Bergström-Allen, 'Forward', p. 15.

- ⁴⁵ Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 435. For the constitutions, see Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change in late-medieval England: vernacular theology, the Oxford translation debate, and Arundel's constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822–64.
- ⁴⁶ Ch. 52, p. 126; Windeatt (trans.), *The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 164.
- ⁴⁷ Hudson, *The Premature Reformation*, p. 436.
- ⁴⁸ Liz Herbert McAvoy, *Authority and the Female Body in the Writings of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), p. 193.
- ⁴⁹ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), I, pp. 376–7.
- ⁵⁰ See further Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change'.
- ⁵¹ Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 431.
- ⁵² Hill, 'Julian and her sisters', p. 177.
- ⁵³ Netter, *Doctrinale*, 5.44=ii.277. Translation mine.
- ⁵⁴ H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 44.
- ⁵⁵ Gen. 1: 22; increase and multiply. Barry Windeatt argues that this question may have been prompted by 'awareness of Lollard arguments against celibacy in priests and religious orders, as recorded in the Norwich heresy cases of 1428–31': see Barry Windeatt (ed.), *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), p. 243, n. 4010–11.
- ⁵⁶ Ch. 51, p. 121; Windeatt (trans.), *The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 159. For the influence of Julian's counsel on her answer, see Yoshikawa, *Margery Kempe's Meditations*, ch. 2.
- ⁵⁷ Spencer, *English Preaching*, p. 45. York was the centre for concern about the heresy of the free spirit in the 1390s. Kerby-Fulton argues that Margery's answer is indebted to her priest friends, Sir John Kendall and others in York: *Books under Suspicion*, pp. 247–8.
- ⁵⁸ Ch. 69, p. 168; Windeatt (trans.), *The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 207.
- ⁵⁹ It is recorded by Bale in an early notebook, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 73, f. 139.
- ⁶⁰ I would like to thank Johan Bergström-Allen for sharing his research for his Ph.D. thesis with me.
- ⁶¹ 'Quidam doctor ordinis nostri Carmelitarum, Johannes Beston nomine, epistolas et evangelia dominicalia in suis predicacionibus, 4tuor. solempnizare consuevit ad non modicam populi edificacionem, etc.' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 73, f. 139). Translation by Richard Copsey in *Early Carmelite Documents* (Faversham, Kent: St Albert Press, forthcoming).
- ⁶² By contrast, in the fourteenth century, Maidstone and Lavenham seem to have dealt with vernacular theology more comfortably than their early fifteenth-century counterparts.

Printing and Reading Walter Hilton in Early Tudor England*

SATOKO TOKUNAGA

Over the past ten years, scholarly attention has been drawn to the reception of medieval books, especially regarding the ownership and readership of manuscripts and printed editions.¹ However, as of yet we have limited knowledge about the early owners and readers of printed medieval devotional texts and, above all, few studies have been attempted on early sixteenth-century editions. The late fifteenth-century and the beginning of the sixteenth century in England saw significant publication of devotional texts written by medieval authors, some of which were originally written for nuns or attributed to anchorite authors such as Richard Rolle.² Of such devotional texts, the high popularity of *The Scale of Perfection* and *On Mixed Life*, written by Walter Hilton, who retired from the world as a hermit, can be attested by the surviving numbers of manuscripts as well as successive printed editions. The first book of the *Scale* was addressed to an enclosed anchorite who asked Hilton for advice on the contemplative life. The *Mixed Life* was written to a devout layman who was in charge of a wealthy household, advising him to meld the contemplative and active lives, the concept being welcomed by contemporary lay people.

The *Scale* and the *Mixed Life* were first published in 1494 by Wynkyn de Worde and continued to be printed at least four times in the sixteenth century.³ As will be seen below, the *Mixed Life* was also published as a part of a religious miscellany of 1516,⁴ and later singled out to be printed separately around 1530.⁵ As well, chapter 65 of the *Scale* was appended alone at the end of the version of *The Golden Epistle* issued around 1535.⁶ Yet, after the Reformation, it was not until 1653 that Hilton's texts reappeared in the English printing market.⁷ Nevertheless, a careful examination of the extant copies and their owners will illustrate that *The Scale of Perfection* and *On Mixed Life* continued to be read or at least passed on to the next generation, religious and secular, throughout the period of pre- and post-Reformation England, while providing a glimpse into the effect of the Reformation on devout Tudor readers.

Hilton in the English Incunabula

The first edition of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* was published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1494. At first, de Worde printed only Books I and II, but shortly afterwards he published another version integrating *On Mixed Life* as Book III, as requested by Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII and a patron of early printers and Syon Abbey, the only Brigittine house in England.⁸ In fact the connection of *The Scale of Perfection* with Syon has been demonstrated in a seminal study of the *Scale* by Michael G. Sargent. From the textual and provenance evidence, Sargent has argued that nine of the forty-three surviving manuscripts contain the complete English text of the *Scale*, and of the twenty-two surviving manuscripts which contain both Books I and II, nine manuscripts can be associated with the Carthusian and Brigittine houses.⁹

De Worde's 1494 edition has survived in seventeen copies,¹⁰ five of which include the *Mixed Life*, and most of these copies have been well described by Sargent and Erler.¹¹ Early printed books of devotional literature are often shown to be associated with contemporary women and *The Scale of Perfection* is no exception.¹² The best-known copy is probably the one donated to Yale University by Paul Mellon.¹³ This particular book contains the signatures of both Margaret of Beaufort and Elizabeth of York, who gave it to their gentlewoman Mary Ross.¹⁴ Moreover, Sargent has shown that three other copies of the *Scale* have a connection with female devotion. One copy, which is now housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library, has the sixteenth-century inscription 'Sister Dorothe Clement'. This inscription indicates that it was owned by a nun of St Ursula's Louvain, Dorothy Clement, who was probably the child of Dr John Clement, physician and protégé of Thomas More, and Margaret Giggs, More's adopted daughter.¹⁵

Notably, the other two copies bear marks that indicate an association with nuns of Syon Abbey, similar to the *Scale* manuscripts. A copy now belonging to Cambridge University Library has a note recording that the book was a gift to Anthony Bolney from Katherine Palmer, who led a group of Syon nuns abroad after the dissolution.¹⁶ The other copy, now in the Rosenbach Museum and Library, was given to the Syon nun Joan Sewell by James Grenehalgh, a Carthusian of Sheen, probably as a gift on Joan's profession day. Much to the delight of modern textual scholars, this version preserves heavy scholarly annotations made by Grenehalgh based on textual collation of multiple manuscripts.¹⁷

Of course, medieval women were not the only readers of the English incunabula. We find marks of male ownership as well. A copy now in the British Library was once owned by John Colman, a priest and master of St Mark's hospital in Bristol.¹⁸ Another copy, now in St John's College at Cambridge, bears sixteenth-century notations by an owner who scribbled pen trials and his own name ('Rychard warryn').¹⁹ For example, sig. n1^r has the inscription 'Rycharde warryn dyde these in London' (twice) and the margin of sig. m1^r (misprinted as k1) conveys 'Rhycharde warryn scabled thys nota words'. Indeed, the same hand repeated the signature at least ten times throughout the book and also wrote an English religious outburst near the hinge of sig. n8^r: 'God geue us all of hys grace blessed and the mercyfull for mercy . . . and at the laste day god wyll thes sole saue amen'. This copy also has other signatures in sixteenth-century hands, such as 'John cowper' and 'Charyles cowper'. Although it is only speculation, the book might have been passed to the Cowper family either before or after Richard Warren's possession and circulated in the family.²⁰ In addition, there is also a scribbled name, 'Elizabeth', in this copy, whose

signature, according to Erler, appeared 'at the end of a devotional miscellany associated with the Throckmorton family *olim* Coughton Court manuscript, now Lambeth Palace MS 3597'; it is further suggested that the Elizabeth in question might be either the wife of Sir Robert Throckmorton (1451–1519) or his sister, Elizabeth Throckmorton, the abbess of Denny.²¹

Thus, the surviving copies of the 1494 edition show the evidence of the mixed ownership of *The Scale* and *On Mixed Life* – religious and secular, male and female. A similar pattern of the ownership of these texts seems to continue into the subsequent editions of the sixteenth century with some expansion.

The sixteenth-century editions of Hilton

With the rise of private devotion in late medieval England, there was an increasing demand for religious vernacular texts and thus the majority of books of this genre went into reprint. For example, Nicholas Love's *The Mirrour of the Blessed Life of Christ*, another popular text with a large number of manuscripts still surviving, was published at least nine times by Caxton, de Worde and Pynson combined in pre-Reformation England.²² Likewise, *The Scale of Perfection* and *On Mixed Life* were reprinted at least four times in the sixteenth century.

Julian Notary, who is considered to have come from Vannes (Morbihan) in Brittany and was active as printer, binder and bookseller, reprinted de Worde's edition of Hilton in 1507.²³ He followed the pattern that de Worde adopted for his 1494 edition (i.e. a version that printed the *Scale* with the *Mixed Life*) but changed the format from folio into quarto. This quarto size of *The Scale of Perfection* with *On Mixed Life* was then followed by de Worde in his three subsequent editions.²⁴ The ESTC records a unique copy of de Worde's second edition (1519) in St Mary's College, Oscott, in Birmingham (see plate 6).²⁵ A sample textual collation between the British Library's 1507 version by Notary and this neglected 1519 copy of de Worde seems to suggest that the latter is basically a page-by-page reprint of the former, with some differences in spelling and wording (especially at page breaks where the compositor(s) struggled to adjust the text to be set according to casting-off marks). After this edition, de Worde reprinted it again in 1525 and 1533.

In these two editions, de Worde changed the iconography on the title pages. The title pages of de Worde's 1497 edition and Notary's 1507 editions bear the image of the Madonna and Child,²⁶ but the title pages of de Worde's 1525 and 1533 editions have the woodcut of the Image of Pity, in which Jesus is wearing a crown of thorns and cruciform nimbus and standing with his right arm around the cross, with St Francis kneeling before him.²⁷ This change may have been due to the simple need to replace the worn-out woodblock, but it is also conceivable that de Worde decided to reflect a significant theme of the *Scale* – the humanity of Christ – on the title pages of his reprints.²⁸

Besides these editions containing both the *Scale* and *On Mixed Life*, Hilton's *Mixed Life* was included as part of a printed devotional miscellany, the *Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande*, which was published by Richard Pynson in 1516.²⁹ This volume was a devotional compilation containing 168 epitomes drawn from the Latin *Nova Legenda Anglie* that was printed by de Worde in the same year, together with the *Lyf of Seynt Birgetta* and a prayer to St Bridget, the founder of Syon Abbey. Pynson's book was one

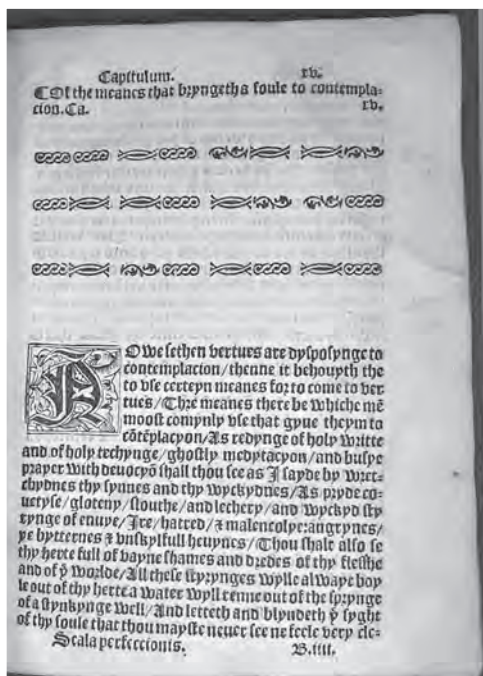


Plate 6: Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1519),
STC 14043.5. St Mary's College, Oscott, RF7 [R00559],
sig. B4^r. Trustees of St Mary's College, Oscott

of the earliest attempts to print multiple religious texts in a single volume, since, like Caxton, early printers after him continued to publish single titles rather than anthologies or miscellanies. It has been considered by scholars that Pynson printed it for Syon Abbey. The *Lyf of Seynt Birgetta* was printed with a continuation of the quire system used for the *Kalendre* and this suggests that it was intended as an integral part of the *Kalendre* project. In addition, a woodcut of St Bridget was used for the title page, together with the initials 'E. G.'; Elizabeth Gybbes was abbess of Syon Abbey at the time of its printing (1461–c.1518), suggesting that the book may well have been printed for the Brigittine house.³⁰

Pynson's target market, however, was not limited to professional religious. The *Kalendre* is a 'deliberate collection of national saints' and aimed to reach a wide audience.³¹ This is inferred from the preface, which explicitly addresses the intended readership as having been envisaged 'as the whole people of this realme',³² possibly as a commercial strategy. The individual texts of the English version, made 'for theym that vnderstande not the Laten tonge' (π1^v), are frequently abbreviated, giving the *Kalendre* an encyclopaedic characteristic suitable for a wider audience.

At this point, it is worth drawing attention to the incipit of Pynson's 1516 version of the *Mixed Life*. Preceding the main text, the incipit conveys for whom this text was intended. It begins in a way that is almost identical to other sixteenth-century editions: 'Here after foloweth a deuoute Boke compyllyd by mayster Walter Hylton to a deuoute

man in temperall estate howe he shulde rule hym' (sig. ²A1^r). To this, Pynson (or his editor) added the following text:

whiche is rygthe expedyent for euery man / moste in especyall for theym that lyue in the medylde lyfe & it shewyth what medelyd lyfe is / he that wyll dylygently loke vpon it may therby the soner come to some of þe hyghe vertues and blessyd lyfe that he shall rede of in the begynnynge of this present Boke of the glorious Seyntys conteynynd in the same. (sig. ²A1^r)

This addition advocates that this book would be suitable for everyone, and especially for those who want to pursue the mixed life. It also has the intention to induce readers to diligently 'look upon it' so that they will come to high virtues and blessed lives, as exemplified in the saints' legends included with it in this volume.

In fact, in late medieval England, the concept of the melding of the contemplative and active life, as proposed by Hilton in the *Mixed Life*, was spread among laypeople. This interest in the mixed life led to the flourishing production of manuscript compilations of devotional works with a practical purpose in late medieval England,³³ and early printers like de Worde and Pynson must have observed the opportunity in this market.³⁴

Evidence of ownership: pre-Reformation

The online ESTC records at least thirty-two extant copies of the sixteenth-century editions, twenty-four of which the present writer has so far checked or received information about.³⁵ From these sixteenth-century editions, one can see a pattern of mixed ownership similar to the 1494 edition. Although the connection with the Brigittine nuns is less obvious in these sixteenth-century editions than in the incunable, some copies bear marks to show that they might possibly have belonged to the Syon community or, if not, that their readers/owners had been influenced by Syon spirituality.

One such example of this is a 1525 copy of the *Scale* with the *Mixed Life*, now in the British Library.³⁶ It is bound with two contemporary texts: a sixteenth-century edition of *A Deuote Epistle*, written by William Bonde, a member of Syon, to a nun of Denny against scrupulosity and fear;³⁷ a continental incunable of Cato's *Disticha de moribus*.³⁸ What is more, this copy has two added illustrations. One, inserted between Book I and Book II, is a cut of Jesus and the instruments of the Passion; the other, between Books II and III, depicts the Fallen Christ carrying the cross, the Virgin Mary and a nun. These cuts are probably foreign,³⁹ and A. I. Doyle suggests that the nun in the second image might be St Brigitte.⁴⁰ Like the Carthusians, the Brigittines were prominent in the manufacture and import of cuts and there are several books that received later additions of cuts in their collection.⁴¹ We cannot be certain when these books were put together because the binding is not contemporary, but the subject matter of the bound copies and the inserted illustrations seems to suggest a Brigittine association and, as Doyle infers, that this particular copy might have been owned by a member of the Syon community.

As can be seen in the copy of the 1525 edition of the *Scale* held by the British Library, the practice of binding several volumes together was not uncommon in early English printing culture. Some early printers adopted it as a commercial strategy to publish small books or pamphlets that could be bound afterwards.⁴² Some composite volumes of early

printed books survive as they were originally bound and this is the case with another copy of the *Scale* bound with contemporary religious texts. The copy of de Worde's 1533 edition, now in Cambridge's Trinity College, still has its original binding, though it is being re-backed.⁴³ On the front cover are pasted bookplates of Trinity College and John Laughton. John Laughton, who was an intimate friend of Sir Isaac Newton, was appointed as librarian of Trinity College and afterwards librarian of Cambridge University. On his death in 1712 he left a very large collection of books to Trinity College Library and this copy of Hilton was probably one of them.⁴⁴ On the front flyleaf of this copy is written 'Richard Wellocke make spede of your learning', seemingly in a sixteenth-century hand. The *Scale* and the *Mixed Life* are followed by two devotional books: an edition of intercession and prayer to Christ, which was printed by Richard Fawkes around 1530,⁴⁵ and a contemplative compilation published by Henry Pepwell in 1521.⁴⁶ Pepwell's edition contains a translation of Richard of St Victor's *De Preparatione Animi ad Contemplationem*, extracts from the *Revelation to St Catherine of Siena*, a reprint of de Worde's abridged version of *The Book of Margery Kempe* (ascribed to an 'ancrese'), Walter Hilton's *Song of Angels* and some other devotional pieces. As this composite volume retains its contemporary binding, it is most likely that all the books were bound together by an early owner shortly after they were purchased as a way to enhance the reader's devotion.

Printed copies of Hilton's book also serve to reflect the thinking of their readers. One sixteenth-century reader made critical annotations to the text of one of de Worde's 1533 editions, held by the University of Glasgow Library.⁴⁷ It formed part of one of the greatest nineteenth-century bequests to the university, donated by William Euing (1788–1874), a Glasgow insurance broker. This is a fascinating copy of the *Scale* and the *Mixed Life*, full of marks and marginal annotations that seem to have been added by a sixteenth-century hand (or possibly two hands), mostly in black and sometimes in red. Many of these notes are summaries of the text. Some parts of the text are underlined and brackets or nota marks have been added. The main annotator also seems to have been keen on textual accuracy and makes some corrections. For example, 'those' is added between 'lorde' and 'shall be' (l. 4, sig. 7^v); 'my' is deleted from 'to my mynde' (l. 4, sig. fl^v); the erroneous, repeatedly printed phrases 'And than whan þ^u fyndest . . . as moche as thou mayst' is deleted (ll. 10–11, sig. g1^v).

There are also lengthy notes in the margins of this volume. Most of these notes are made in Latin, with some in English. For example, a sixteenth-century hand cautions readers in English that they must see that the 'Author of this booke beyng an old man long a gone, dothe vse certayne terms in naming of thing. may[?] now be owt of vse' (sig. b4^r). In the margin of chapter 22 of Book II, where Hilton talks about 'a general remedie agens wikkid stirynges and peynful tarynges that fallen in here hertis of the fleisch, the world, and the feend',⁴⁸ a long annotation refers to *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*, explaining that it was 'compyld by virtuous fater and excellently lernyd being a bachler off divine / namyd mayster bond of Syon' (sig. p7^r).⁴⁹ Bonde's *Pilgrimage of Perfection*, published in 1526 and 1531,⁵⁰ is 'a *summa* of late medieval teaching on the religious life' and instructs the reader about the virtues of the active life while supplying actual meditations on the life and the Passion of Christ.⁵¹ The annotator seems to have construed the words of Hilton through a comparative reading of the text of a contemporary author.

What is even more interesting about this Glasgow copy of de Worde's 1533 edition is that the same hand has added numerous cross-references throughout the volume. Like

the reference to Bonde's *Pilgrimage* discussed above, many of them refer to Brigittine-related texts. In fact, this person seems to have been an avid reader of Syon-related texts. For instance, a note in the margin on sig. b2^r says 'Lege Prologu in revelationes Sancta Birgitta . . . Lege dialogus .s. Catharina de Synis. cap. 106'. The former note is about *The Revelation of St Brigit*, a text originally dictated in Swedish, then translated into Latin and soon disseminated in other European vernaculars. Latin copies of the *Revelations* found their way into England even before Bridget's death in 1373 and an English translation was made early in the fifteenth century.⁵² The other text, Catherine of Siena's *Dialogue*, was also popular enough to have circulated in manuscripts in fifteenth-century England and was then published in 1519 by Wynkyn de Worde at the request of Richard Sutton, steward of Syon.⁵³

Other titles listed in the marginalia of this copy of Hilton include Augustine's *Expositions on the Psalms*, *Horologium sapientiae* by Henry Suso and *Institutiones vitae christianae* by Florentius of Harem, who was a Carthusian at Louvain (the unfinished text of *Institutiones* was completed and translated by Laurentius Surius, another Carthusian, at Cologne). In these personal notations, each author's name and the title of his work is in Latin, followed by folio, chapter or page numbers noted in a meticulous manner. These scholastic marginalia facilitate an extensive reading, implying that this annotator may well have been an intellectual reader with profound knowledge of, and good access to, religious texts – many of which would have been of interest to Brigittine readers.

Thus, one may infer that the person responsible for these detailed annotations was religious, probably with a Syon connection. To make extensive analyses of the marginalia is beyond the scope of this article, but a further study of this copy would certainly lead to a deeper understanding of this owner's spirituality and of how Hilton's work was understood around the time of the Reformation.

Hilton in post-Reformation England

After Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1534, influential proclamations were issued and we find the consequences of such proclamations in printed books.⁵⁴ In June 1535, a royal proclamation called on the ecclesiastical authorities to eradicate the Pope's name in all books used in churches. In September 1538, Thomas Cranmer issued an injunction against pilgrimage and the cults of saints and relics. In November of that same year, a clause was added to Henry VIII's proclamation that banned controversial marginalia and prefaces and demanded that all images of Thomas Becket be destroyed. Becket was no longer to be venerated as a saint so that his name and image were to be erased from all liturgical books as well as his office and antiphons.

Certainly, there are many surviving books in which early owners removed Becket's name from calendars and his prayers (such as *The Golden Legend* and Books of Hours).⁵⁵ Numerous deletions can also be found in Pynson's devotional compilation of 1516. As mentioned earlier, this edition consists of the *Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande*, a collection of English prose centring around saints' lives, *The Lyfe of St Bridget* and *On the Mixed Life*. In one copy housed in the British Library (which incidentally lacks the *Mixed Life*), such words as 'Thomas of Canterbury' and 'Pope' are often deleted in the

Kalendre text.⁵⁶ On the final page of this copy is written a short Latin inscription that tells us about the life of a religious man:

Requiescat in eterna quiete cum christo Robertus Pole clericus olim de Winchecumba ordinis sancti benedicti: sub egregio doctore Richardo mouslo theologo. Tandem vicarius in Compton longa 1555. Cuius parentes Williamus Pole & Alicia iuxta bordisleyam per septem anglie Regum tempora vixere. scz ab humillimo Henrico Sexto vsque ad predetissimum sextum Edwardum. (sig. y4^v; abbreviation expanded; see plate 7)

(Let Robert Pole, formerly a monk of the Benedictine order at Winchcombe [Gloucestershire], rest in eternal peace with Christ: he studied under the excellent doctor Richard Mounslow, the theologian. He eventually became vicar at Long Compton in 1555. His parents, William Pole and Alice, lived near Bordesley [Worcestershire] through the times of seven kings of England, from the humble Henry VI to the learned Edward VI.)⁵⁷

According to this inscription, Robert Pole (who was probably an early owner of this volume) once served under Richard Munslow, abbot of Winchcombe. David Knowles described Munslow as ‘a moderate conservative who ended his days as prebendary of the new cathedral of Gloucester’.⁵⁸ The Latin inscription also informs us that Robert’s parents lived near Bordesley, Warwickshire through six reigns from Henry VI to Edward VI and that he had become vicar at Long Compton, a small town in Warwickshire after the Reformation.⁵⁹

The British Library also holds another copy of Pynson’s *Kalendre* which contains *On Mixed Life*.⁶⁰ In this copy, words that King Henry disliked and that were prohibited in the Ten Articles of 1536 (such as ‘Pope’, ‘Thomas of Canterbury’, ‘martyred’ and ‘purgatorie’) are often deleted in ink.⁶¹ Moreover, a sixteenth-century hand signs ‘oswold benson’ several times. Though there is little certainty, a probable candidate for these amendments is Oswald Benson, who became a master of the house of St Robert of Knaresborough in the early sixteenth century.⁶² After that, it seems that this book was somehow passed to John, Baron Lumley (1534[?]-1609), conspirator and committed Catholic, as the name ‘Lumley’ is signed on the title page.⁶³ Lumley was one of the great Elizabethan collector-patrons of books, paintings and marbles, and his collections were catalogued during his lifetime.⁶⁴ His library was one of the largest in Elizabethan England and contained nearly 3,000 books. Part of this library, including the bulk of the Thomas Cranmer collection, was given to Lumley by Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel (1512-80), because his daughter was Lumley’s first wife. After Lumley’s death, the majority of the books listed in the catalogue were passed to Henry, prince of Wales (the future Henry VIII) and from there entered into the Royal Library, which has ensured their safe survival and led to their acquisition by the British Library.⁶⁵

The textual deletions observed in the two copies held by the British Library show that early Tudor readers made immediate responses to Henry VIII’s proclamations after the Reformation. However, such deletions are not always systematic and some passages remain intact. It is also noteworthy that the majority of these deletions are found in the *Kalendre*, while the text of Hilton’s *Mixed Life* is almost free from deletions and emendations. Of course, one cannot use such evidence to conclude that medieval Catholic texts continued to be avidly read in post-Reformation England. Nevertheless, traces left in books may indicate that some of these volumes were not immediately abandoned, but

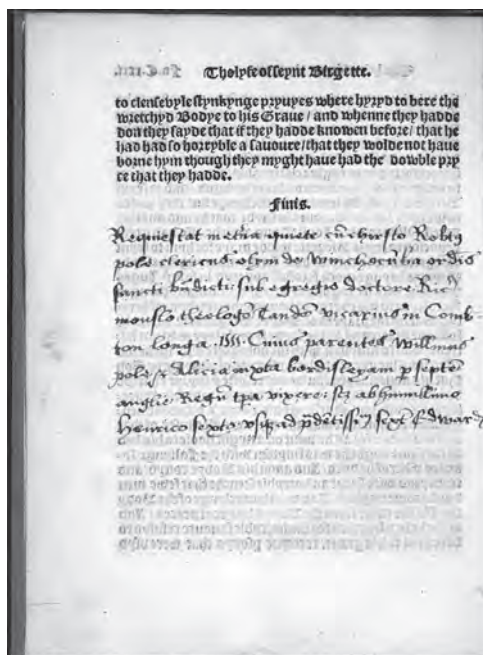


Plate 7: The *Kalendre of the New Legende of Englande* (London: Richard Pynson, 1516), STC 4602, sig. y4^v. The British Library, 205.c.19.
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were kept in use. In fact, there are more examples that show at least the use of the Hilton book during the Elizabethan reign.

A copy of Notary's 1507 edition of *The Scale of Perfection*, now in the British Library, bears various inscriptions.⁶⁶ On several pages, indentures or bills are recorded. One example of such a marginal note is on sig. u7^v: 'of daye of June in the fyfthe yere of the Reyng of . . . our soverynge Ladye Elezabeth by the Grace of God quene of Yngland, France and Ireland'. We even find an anathema to a book thief: 'He that stelythe yt shalbe hanged upon a croke and if the croke fayle he shalbe hanged upon a nale. P[er] me Robert Pulleye' (sig. z3^r). More strikingly, several of the other sixteenth-century hands in this copy note that their writers are from the same place, Well, a small town in north Yorkshire. Among them, Edward Hutchinson repeatedly wrote inscriptions (e.g. 'Edward Hutchinson of Well in the county of yeork' on h1^r),⁶⁷ and we also find another signature made by a member of the Hutchinson family, who wrote on sig. p4^v and &6^v 'Rychard Hutchynson in this boyke'. This Richard repeated the same phrase in Latin on sig. p4^r. In the same copy we also find the name Robert Humber, who described himself as a yeoman: 'Be it knowen unto all men by this present writynge yt I Robert Humber of well in the countye of yorke yeoman' (sig. k2^v).⁶⁸ These names bearing the same place-name of Well, though remaining to be identified, may suggest that the book was circulated within the Hutchinson family and between its neighbours.⁶⁹

Conclusion

As some of the cases examined in this article imply, the identification of names is not always straightforward and often entails complicated considerations. In this respect, the information about names in this article may need further research and modification. Since we do not have a large number of extant copies of Hilton and books with extensive marginal annotations are relatively rare, it is not easy to draw a general picture of how Hilton's texts were read in Tudor England from such evidence. Nevertheless, this survey of extant copies has certainly offered a variety of the traces left in books.

Above all, a continuous association with Brigittine spirituality is prominent in these volumes, even in the sixteenth-century editions. Moreover, not only religious readers, but also laypersons from different social classes, such as a yeoman and Baron Lumley, owned/read Hilton's work. Within this context, we may find proof that the readership of religious texts was gradually expanding, as is claimed in the prologue of the *Kalendre*. Although the majority of medieval devotional writings ceased to be printed after the Reformation, marks left in Hilton's books narrate that at least one medieval writer's works were passed onto the next generations, and even possibly kept to be read and appreciated by some of their Tudor owners.

Notes

* I would like to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to the editors of this volume, Catherine Innes-Parker and Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, for their kind support and great patience. I also gratefully acknowledge the archivists and the librarians who assisted me with the materials for this research.

¹ See, for example, Margaret Lane Ford, 'Private ownership of printed books', in Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume III 1400–1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 205–28; Yu-Chiao Wang, 'Caxton's romances and their early Tudor readers', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67, 2 (2004), 173–88; Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate and their Books 1473–1557* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), esp. Part 3; Alison Wiggins, 'What did Renaissance readers write in their printed copies of Chaucer?', *The Library*, 7th ser., 9 (2008), 3–36.

² Such texts are, for example, *The Chastising of God's Children* (1493; STC 5065); *Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God* (1506; STC 212259) and William Flete's *The Remedy against the Troubles of Temptations* (1508; STC 20875.5). The latter two were attributed to Rolle, but *Explanaciones notabiles deuotissimiviri Richardi Hampole hermite* . . . ([1483], STC 21261) was the only writing by Rolle published in Tudor England.

³ STC 14042, 1403, 1403.5, 14044, 14045.

⁴ STC 4602.

⁵ STC 14041. There are only two extant copies. The present writer examined a copy in the Bodleian Library and it does not bear any marks.

⁶ STC 1915.5. The ESTC records three copies of this edition and the present writer examined one in the British Library (C.37.b.12), but no significant marks were found.

⁷ Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection and Other Pious Devotions* (London, 1653), Wing H3881.

- ⁸ For the connection between Margaret Beaufort and Syon Abbey, see Sue Powell, 'Syon, Caxton, and the *Festial*', *Birgittiana*, 2 (1996), 187–207; also her 'Margaret Beaufort and her books', *The Library*, 6th ser., 3 (1998), 197–240.
- ⁹ Michael G. Sargent, 'Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*: the London manuscript group reconsidered', *Medium Ævum*, 52, 2 (1983), 189–216.
- ¹⁰ See Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 190, n. 16. However, the present writer has confirmed that a fragment in the Lambeth Palace Library, the leaf shelf marked with Z240 1.037 [**], was not from the *Scale of Perfection* and the text remains to be identified.
- ¹¹ See Sargent, 'Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*'; Mary C. Erler, 'Devotional literature', in Hellinga and Trapp (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, pp. 495–525 (pp. 518–19); eadem, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, pp. 121–3.
- ¹² See, for example, Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, ch. 6.
- ¹³ Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Zi +9694.
- ¹⁴ Sargent, 'Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*', p. 207.
- ¹⁵ Pierpont Morgan Library, ChL 1804; Sargent, 'Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*', p. 207; Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, p. 122.
- ¹⁶ Cambridge University Library, Inc.3.J.1.2 [3534]; Sargent, 'Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*', p. 207; Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, p. 121.
- ¹⁷ This copy has already been studied in detail. See Sargent, 'Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*', p. 201; Michael G. Sargent, *James Grenehalgh as Textual Critic*, 2 vols, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 85 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1984).
- ¹⁸ The British Library, IB.55165. See Lotte Hellinga (ed.), *The Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Library*, XI: *England* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes and De Graaf, 2007), p. 191 (hereafter the *BMC*, XI). The *BMC*, XI (p. 191) describes that only leaves sig. b3–r6 were owned by John Colman and the rest, leaves sig. b1–2, s1–4, are from a copy belonging to Wylliam Boton (the fifteenth century) and John Dulkyn of Keyston (the sixteenth century).
- ¹⁹ Cambridge, St John's College, A.1.7.
- ²⁰ A little later, this copy passed into the possession of a book collector, Thomas Barker, who wrote on the front flyleaf: 'Tho: Barker, Coll: Jo. Socius Ejectus'. This copy is recorded by Frans Korsten, in *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Barker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 10, no. 67.
- ²¹ Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety*, p. 191, n. 23.
- ²² STC 3259–68. For printed books of the *Mirror*, see Lotte Hellinga, 'Nicholas Love in print', in Shoichi Oguro, Richard Beadle and Michael Sargent (eds), *Nicholas Love at Waseda: Proceedings of the International Conference 20–22 July 1995* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1997), pp. 144–62.
- ²³ Little information about Notary's personal life is known. He generally reprinted existing editions, including those of de Worde and Pynson (such as the *Scale*), though many of his choices were Latin texts. For Notary's career, see H. R. Tedder, N. F. Blake (rev.), 'Notary, Julian (b. c.1455, d. in or after 1523)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20367>, accessed 1 May 2012; Gordon Duff, *The Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (1906; New York: Arno, 1977), esp. pp. 37–40, 141–6.
- ²⁴ For de Worde's career see N. F. Blake, 'Wynkyn de Worde: the early years', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1971), 62–9; 'Wynkyn de Worde: the later years', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1972), 128–38; James Moran, *Wynkyn de Worde: Father of Fleet Street* (1976; rev. edn, London: British Library, 2003).
- ²⁵ St Mary College, oscott, RF7 [R00559]. The present writer appreciates the warmest welcome of members of the college, especially Gerard Boylan, librarian.
- ²⁶ Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480–1535* (1935; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), no. 463, 2077.
- ²⁷ Ibid., no. 456. The unique copy of 1519 lacks the title page.
- ²⁸ For de Worde's strategy for using pictures on title pages, see Martha W. Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004).

- 29 STC 4602.
- 30 See S. H. Johnston, 'A study of the career and the literary publications of Richard Pynson' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1977), 101.
- 31 Manfred Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1998), p. 149.
- 32 Oliver Pickering, 'Saint's lives', in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 249–70 (p. 262).
- 33 Marion Glasscoe, *English Medieval Mystics: Games of Faith* (London: Longman, 1993), p. 46.
- 34 C. Annette Grisé presents an interesting discussion of early printers and their commercial strategies for publishing texts associated with the mixed life and mystics; 'The mixed life and lay piety in mystical texts printed in pre-Reformation England', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 8 (2005), 97–119. I would like to acknowledge my thanks to Takami Matsuda for drawing my attention to this article.
- 35 The ESTC records that University of Tokyo holds a copy of Pynson's 1516 edition, which was donated by the British Academy to the university, whose library lost the majority of the collection after the disastrous great earthquake of 1923; sadly, it is now lost, so I have excluded it from the count. Furthermore, while the codex version of the STC indicates a copy in the possession of Toshiyuki Takamiya, Tokyo, to whom I owe this information, it is not recorded in the ESTC.
- 36 British Library, I.A.47940 (1).
- 37 British Library, IA.49940 (2); *A Deuoute Epystle or Treatyse for them that Ben Tymorouse and Fearefull in Conscience* (London: Michael Fawkes, 1534?), STC 3276.
- 38 British Library, IA.47216; Cato, *Disticha de moribus* (Delft: Christiaan Snellaert or Hendrik Eckert, van Homberch, between 23 September 1493 and 1500), ISTC ic00298900.
- 39 Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480–1535*, p. 32.
- 40 A. I. Doyle, 'A survey of the origins and circulation of theological writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and early 16th centuries with special consideration of the part of the clergy therein', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1953), II, 140–1, n. 61(b). I am grateful to Toshiyuki Takamiya for giving me access to this thesis.
- 41 See Mary C. Erler, 'Pasted-in embellishments in English manuscripts and printed books c.1480–1533', *The Library*, 6th ser., 14 (1992), 185–206.
- 42 See discussions by Alexandra Gillespie, 'Caxton's Chaucer and Lydgate quartos: miscellanies from manuscript to print', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 12, 1 (2000), 1–25; *eadem*, 'Poets, printers, and early English sammelbände', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67, 2 (2004), 189–214. Doyle also mentions other examples of religious composite volumes in 'Survey', II, 140.
- 43 Cambridge, Trinity College: C.7.26 [1–3].
- 44 Robert Sinker, *The Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Deighton, 1891), p. 13.
- 45 *A Deuot Intercession and Praier to our Sauour Iesu Christ* (London: Richard Fawkes, [1530?]), STC 14546.7.
- 46 *Here Foloweth a veray Deuoute Teatyse (named Benyamyn) of the Myghtes and Vertues of Mannes Soule, & of the Way to true Contemplacyon, Compyled by Richarde of saynt Vyctor* (London: Henry Pepwell, 1521), STC 20972. Cf. Alexandra Gillespie, 'Caxton and after', in Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, pp. 307–25 (p. 315).
- 47 The University of Glasgow Library, Sp Coll BD1. b.42.
- 48 Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. Thomas Bestul (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2000), p. 179.
- 49 I am grateful to Andrew McAinsh of the Special Collection, the University of Glasgow Library, for making the digital photos of these pages available to me.
- 50 STC 3277, 3278.
- 51 J. T. Rhodes, 'Syon Abbey's religious publications in the sixteenth century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44, 1 (1993), 11–27 (21–2).
- 52 William Paterson Cumming (ed.), *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta: Edited from the Fifteenth-century MS in the Garrett Collection in the Library of Princeton University*, EETS OS 178 (New

- York: Kraus, 1971), p. xxix; F. R. Johnston, 'English cult of St Bridget of Sweden', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 103 (1985), 75–93 (79).
- ⁵³ Phyllis Hodgson and Gabriel M. Liegey (eds), *The Orchard of Syon: Edited from the Early Manuscripts*, EETS OS 258, I; *Text* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. v–xi.
- ⁵⁴ Cf. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (eds), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964–9), I, pp. 193–8.
- ⁵⁵ See Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, ch. 9.
- ⁵⁶ British Library, 205.c.19. The owner of this book made textual corrections as well: 'seynt de' to 'seynt denys' (sig. E4^r); 'knut' to 'knowth or knott' (sig. E6^r).
- ⁵⁷ I am very grateful to John Goldfinch of the British Library for helping me with this transcription and translation. This text was also transcribed by Görlach in his edition of the *Kalendre*, though with some omission of the text; he transcribed 'mouslo' as 'mon[ach]o': Manfred Görlach (ed.), *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande: Ed. from Pynson's Printed Edition, 1516* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994), p. 12.
- ⁵⁸ David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948–59), III, p. 338.
- ⁵⁹ In Long Compton a medieval church has remained today; however, Robert Pole's name does not appear in the extant Long Compton list of vicars which dates back to the 1100s and further research is needed. I am grateful to David Shacklock of St Peter and St Paul, Long Compton, for supplying me with this information.
- ⁶⁰ British Library, c.24.a.7.
- ⁶¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 393.
- ⁶² David M. Smith (ed.), *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, III: 1377–1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 612.
- ⁶³ I am grateful to John Goldfinch for drawing my attention to Lumley. For Lumley's biographical information, see the online *DNB*.
- ⁶⁴ See Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson (eds), *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609*, British Museum Bicentenary Publications (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1956).
- ⁶⁵ This copy is probably the one in *The Lumley Library*, no. 1308. For English incunabula from the Lumley collection in the British Library, see the *BMC*, XI, 73–4, etc.
- ⁶⁶ British Library, c.25.g.16. I am immensely indebted to John Goldfinch for confirming transcriptions of the marginalia of this copy.
- ⁶⁷ For example, sig. b1^r, h1^r, i8^r, p7^r, p8^r, t8^r.
- ⁶⁸ We also find other male names on sig. a5^r, v3^r, and so on.
- ⁶⁹ Besides the copies of Hilton's editions examined above, there are several other copies with names in sixteenth-century hands awaiting identification. One example is a copy of de Worde's 1494 edition, now held at Cambridge, King's College (XV.9.7.). It seems to have belonged to a man named Robert Bellamy during the Elizabethan period. His signature appears several times, and the same hand wrote part of an indenture dated 20 August of the fifteenth year of the Elizabethan sovereign on sig. i1^r. He also wrote a draft of a letter, asking 'Marie' to put in a good word for his son, who was seeking to obtain a position. This seems to imply that Robert Bellamy was in a close relationship with the receiver of this letter, most likely 'Mary Bellamy' whose name is inscribed twice in the same copy. I owe my sincere thanks to Peter Jones of King's College for helping me to transcribe some marginal notes of this copy. In addition, John Rylands University Library has three copies of Hilton, two of which (shelf marks 18951 and 15046) bear only very occasional contemporary marginalia such as symbols and ruling in red. I am very grateful to Ed Potten for checking the John Rylands copies on my behalf.

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